



BRILL

Editorial

This year's second issue of *GRMS* will be devoted to papers from the Moisa conference held in Newcastle in July 2015; the present issue contains papers submitted to us independently of the conference. Future years will follow a similar pattern, except that papers from the most recent Moisa conference may sometimes occupy the first issue and independent papers the second.

In this first issue for 2016, in addition to articles on a wide range of musical topics, we are also publishing two tributes to the late Martin West, who died unexpectedly last July. He was among the most distinguished classical scholars of recent times, and his writings on ancient music, in particular, have made great and lasting contributions to our knowledge. He will be sorely missed.

Andrew Barker

Tribute to Martin Litchfield West, 1937–2015

In the field of classical scholarship, as traditionally understood, Martin West is to be judged, on any reckoning, the most brilliant and productive Greek scholar of his generation, not just in the United Kingdom, but worldwide.¹

Very few scholars have been elected as Fellows of the British Academy in their mid-thirties, as Martin West was in 1973; and only three other classicists (Richard Jebb, Gilbert Murray and Ronald Syme) have ever been appointed to the Order of Merit.² These and other distinctions mark West out as an altogether exceptional scholar. He was a man of prodigious learning, with outstanding critical acumen and interpretative flair, whose insistence on the highest evidential standards and on clarity of thought and expression repeatedly led him to challenge established opinions on issues central to classical philology. He read fluently in seven languages. In the case of ancient Greek, his mastery of its structures, vocabulary, history, dialects, metres and styles, together with his encyclopaedic knowledge of its literature, enabled him to write it almost as easily as he read. His editorial supplements and emendations to corrupt manuscripts and lacunose papyri may not always recreate precisely what the original author wrote, but from a linguistic and stylistic perspective they are invariably flawless.³ Similarly, in the course of an important article on Hesiod, he recasts a seven-verse episode from the *Works and Days* into a 41-verse narrative the manner of Homer.⁴ If this elegant composition had

1 From the citation accompanying the British Academy's award of the Kenyon Medal for Classical Studies to Martin West in 2002.

2 West was appointed to the Order of Merit in January 2014. The Order was founded by Edward VII in 1902, to be awarded to 'such persons, subjects of Our Crown, as may have rendered exceptionally meritorious services in Our Crown Services or towards the advancement of the Arts, Learning, Literature and Science or such other exceptional service as We are fit to recognise'. The honour is in the personal gift of the Sovereign, and the number of living members can be no more than 24 at any one time. (Information from www.royal.gov.uk/MonarchUK/Honours/OrderofMerit/OrderofMerit.aspx.)

3 For one remarkable example of his supplements to papyri, including a meticulous disegno, see West 1992a, 17.

4 West, 1981b, 55-6.

emerged on a scrap of papyrus from the Egyptian sands, many scholars, I suspect, would confidently have assigned it to the poet of the *Odyssey*.⁵

West's epoch-making contributions in the broader domain of classical philology—on epic, elegy, iambus, lyric and tragedy, on Orphic writings, on philosophy, on the relations between Greek literature and the literatures of cultures further to the East—are not my main concern here, but I would like to draw attention to one of their recurrent features. They display, time after time, his abiding interest in the concrete details of the processes through which things came about, and the means by which things were done. How, when, in what milieu and through what agency did the unusual name 'Homer' come to be attached to the epics?⁶ How was the *Prometheus Vincitus* staged, with its hero chained to a rock, its chorus entering on an air-borne chariot and Oceanus on his bizarre flying steed, and the final disappearance of Prometheus and the chorus in a terrifying thunderstorm?⁷ Given that certain passages of Euripides' *Orestes* or of the *Odyssey*, for example, have apparently been inserted rather awkwardly into an existing text, who added them, and when and why?⁸ In what manner, when, where, by whom and with what accessories were the Homeric epics or the works of Stesichorus performed?⁹ By what means, by whom and in what form were melodies transmitted through time and space, and how did the relevant processes change over the centuries?¹⁰

As the last two examples will suggest, this consistent curiosity about the ways in which cultural phenomena came into being and developed, and about the ways in which performances were presented in practice, helped to stimulate and enliven West's interest in Greek music, as also, from another direction, did his intricate studies of poetic metres. But what first sparked his enthusiasm for the subject, as he tells us in the Preface to his *Ancient Greek Music*, was his discovery of transcriptions of the two Delphic Paeans in Powell's *Collectanea Alexandrina* when he was an undergraduate. 'I committed one of them to memory,' he continues, 'and next spring, when I went to Greece for the first time, on arriving at Delphi I sang it at the top of my voice in the ruins of the sanctuary where it had had its première 2,084 springs previously.'¹¹ One member of his

5 Connoisseurs of such things should not miss his splendid Aeschylean spoof, 'Cassandra Smells Dinner', printed in West 2013a, 392-392.

6 West 1999.

7 West 1979.

8 West 1987, West 2000, West 2005.

9 West 1981a, West 1971.

10 West 2013c.

11 West 1992b, v. Witnesses on other occasions testify that he had an excellent singing voice.

(slightly embarrassed) audience on that occasion was Stephanie Pickard, his future wife.

Ancient Greek Music is of course his best known work in this field, and the one that has reached the widest readership; a representative of Oxford University Press tells me that it has sold around 4,000 copies in the English edition and 1,600 in its Greek translation, far more than they would normally expect for a specialised academic volume of this sort.¹² But it is a book some of whose depths are concealed; and to anyone who wants to appreciate the profound and wide-ranging knowledge and the scrupulous reasoning on which it is based, I would recommend studying a long article that was published in the same year, his *Analecta musica*.¹³ It is in fact not really an article at all, but a collection of articles and notes, thirty-eight of them in total, varying in length from eight pages to a mere handful of lines. The first ten present new readings and interpretations of problematic symbols in some of the musical fragments; they reveal West's remarkable expertise in papyrology and epigraphy, as well as his easy familiarity with the Greek notations, and inevitably make substantial technical demands on their readers. Next comes an impressive reconstruction of the diatribe in P. Hibeh 13, the so-called 'Hibeh Musical Papyrus', together with a substantial commentary. Then there is a series of notes, some long, some short, on details of twenty-four passages in Greek musicological texts; and these are followed by two long articles on the notations, one discussing their origins, the other investigating a strange notational system recorded by Aristides Quintilianus. The last essay in the collection is the longest and in some ways the most provocative, arguing on thoroughly persuasive grounds, against Egon Wellesz, that the Christian hymn from Oxyrhynchus (P. Oxy. 1876) shows no signs of a Jewish or Syriac ancestry, and is wholly characteristic of the Greek music that was familiar in its time.

West's remarkable skills and his dedicated attention to the evidence are apparent everywhere in *Analecta musica*. Many of the issues it addresses reappear in *Ancient Greek Music*, but (unavoidably, given its purpose and its very extensive agenda) with briefer argumentation and in less technical detail. More generally, if there are readers who think that the case made for an assertion in the book is unconvincing as it stands, they will often find the full technical and evidential groundwork presented in one of West's numerous articles. Six of them, of which three are from *Analecta musica*, are reprinted in vol. 3

12 It has also been translated into Italian and Polish, but the sales figures for these versions are not currently available.

13 West 1992a.

of his *Hellenica*, together with a list of the many others that he published on musical topics.¹⁴

That volume also reprints four of his articles on metre, a topic which pre-occupied him throughout his career. When his *Greek Metre* was published in 1982 its radically new approach to the subject met with some resistance; but this soon faded, and it is now recognised as the most important book in its field. Two specialists have kindly sent me comments on this aspect of his work. Tosca Lynch writes that in this book ‘West combined evidence taken from many different disciplines and traditions with unfailingly good judgement and intellectual rigour, resulting in a work which stands apart from all other handbooks on metre for its thoroughness and clarity, and for offering a detailed picture of the historical evolution of Greek metrical forms’. She adds that he aimed at ‘understanding’ these forms on the basis of unifying principles, rather than merely cataloguing them, and continues: ‘But the full extent of West’s innovative approach can be appreciated only by reading his *Greek Metre* in the light of the chapter on ‘Rhythm and Tempo’ included in his 1992 book, *Ancient Greek Music*. This chapter reveals the strongly ‘musical’ approach West took to Greek metre. Doing away with many Western preconceptions on ancient rhythm, West reconstructed the rhythmical delivery of Greek metrical patterns on the basis of concepts borrowed from musical and ethnomusicological studies, including the fundamental notion of musical bars of varying length—a very common phenomenon in many folk musical traditions, which had previously been neglected by scholars interested in Greek metre and rhythemics’. Joan Silva Barris writes in a similar vein: ‘Those memorable twenty-five pages devoted to rhythm in his *Ancient Greek Music* marked the path to follow for those who wanted to do serious research on Greek musical rhythm, without the systematic self-delusions originating in nineteenth century practice, and also without the prejudices that considered such research useless and nonsensical, as some said during the twentieth century. A good number of scholars now work rigorously and successfully on rhythm using methods which are dependent on his conceptions’.¹⁵

Ancient Greek Music itself will be familiar to all readers of this journal, and I shall make no attempt to discuss it in detail or to draw attention to all its many merits. A glance through its list of contents gives some idea of its

14 West 2013b. But even this list is not exhaustive, since many of the articles classified in *Hellenica* under headings appropriate to the first two volumes (West 2011 and 2013a) also include substantial discussions of musical issues.

15 My thanks to these two scholars for their comments on West’s work in a field in which I am the merest amateur.

astounding scope: Music in Greek Life; The Voice (a subject rarely considered by other writers); Stringed Instruments; Wind and Percussion; Rhythm and Tempo; Scales and Modes; Melody and Form; Theory (by which he means roughly what others describe as ‘musical philosophy’); Notation and Pitch; The Musical Documents (that is, the surviving written scores); Historical Synthesis: 1. Sunrise and Forenoon; Historical Synthesis: 2. High Noon and Afternoon; Epilogue: Greece between Europe and Asia.¹⁶ It is hard to think of any relevant topic that has been omitted.

‘Ancient Greek culture,’ says West in his Introduction, ‘was permeated with music. Probably no other people in history has made more frequent reference to music and musical activity in its literature and art. Yet the subject is practically ignored by nearly all who study that culture and teach about it.’ (As another voice crying in the wilderness at that time, I can vouch for the truth of this last remark.) One reason for its neglect, he says, is that accounts of it in English ‘have tended to be of the highest scholarly accomplishment, but daunting to the uninitiated inquirer, who has soon found himself floundering among disjunct enharmonic tetrachords and Mixolydian/Hypodorian/Hyperphrygian transposition keys, and has halted before a long table of notes with prodigious names like *paranētē diezeugmenōn* and *tritē hyperbolaiōn*... Well, he will eventually come upon such horrors in this book too; they are unfortunately necessary. But I scheme to lead him to them so gently and persuasively that by the time they rear up before him they will not seem so formidable after all.’¹⁷ And indeed they do not seem so formidable. Even after we have been led through the verdant lowlands and flower-strewn foothills of the discipline, and are faced with the rocky crags above, our fears and confusions are melted away by the care and clarity with which West guides our ascent. There can, for instance, be no kinder account of the mysteries of the notations than the one set out in his chapter on the topic. The fact that in more recent years the study of ancient Greek music has come in from the cold, and might almost be said to have entered the mainstream of classical scholarship, is due in no small part

16 The Epilogue links closely with West’s long-standing interest in relations between Greek culture and literature and those of the civilisations of the East, most fully explored in West 1997. But this Epilogue by no means tries to persuade us that the Greeks borrowed everything important in their music from Asiatic traditions. West also finds affinities between their musical forms and practices and those of other Indo-European peoples in Europe itself; and he ends with the comment that among all the elements that contributed to Greek music, it was ‘Hellenic art and craft’ that was ‘undoubtedly the most potent’ (West 1992b, 390).

17 West 1992b, 1–2.

to the success of his book, grounded as it is in an alliance between his enormous learning and meticulous reasoning on the one hand, and on the other the Siren-like seductions of his strategy and style.

He maintained the highest scholarly standards and expected the same of others. When faced with intellectual laziness or sloppy thought he could be merciless in his criticisms, exposing writers' faults in sharp detail, often salted with wit; and he had little patience with the briefly fashionable 'isms' of literary theory. In one of his book reviews he describes structuralism as 'one of the bulkier bandwagons at present cluttering the road to truth'.¹⁸ But such remarks, when coming from West's pen, are not just cheap gibes. In this case, whether one agrees with it or not, it was a reasoned judgment based on extensive study of the works of structuralist writers, and his comments in the body of this review are precisely focused and amply justified. West saw classical studies as a discipline which has made great strides in recent centuries and continues to advance; as a critic his aim was not to obstruct or belittle his fellow-scholars' efforts but to guide them, when necessary, into more fruitful pathways. 'Ancient Hellas,' he once wrote, 'is like Helen: beautiful, perpetually fascinating, and immortal. It will always be there. That is why there must always be, somewhere on this hospitable planet, professors of Greek.'¹⁹ Would that there were more of them like him.

With the death of Martin West, our discipline has lost one of its greatest scholars and its most doughty champions, and he will be sadly missed by his colleagues, friends and family. On behalf of all readers of this journal I would like to offer our sincere sympathy to Stephanie West and their two children.

Andrew Barker

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¹⁸ West 1976.

¹⁹ West 1975, p. 96 in West 2011.

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- 2013c. *The Transmission of Ancient Music: Then and Now*, in West 2013b, 189-207.



Christoph Riedweg (Zürich), in his obituary for Martin West, pointed to the sad fact that Greek Philology has lost in a short time two of its giants: on 11 March 2015 Walter Burkert, former Ordinarius in Zürich, died in his 84th year in Uster; and Martin Litchfield West, former Senior Research Fellow of All Souls College in Oxford, died on 17 July 2015 in Oxford in his 77th year. Both were prominent world-wide for their research on Greek religion and on the relations of early Greek philosophy and literature to the Orient.

Their biographies crossed at the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg. In 1960 Martin West, in order to prepare with Reinhold Merkelbach an edition of the fragments of Hesiod,²⁰ came to Erlangen, where he met Walter Burkert, who

20 Burkert 1962.

had just finished his monumental book on Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans.²¹ West was still working on his pioniering edition of Hesiod's *Theogony*,²² whose evident roots in the Orient paved the way for a new understanding of early Greek religion and literature.²³ West later expanded his opinion that early Greek literature was part of Near Eastern literature, in the famous study *The East Face of Helicon*.²⁴

In opposition to the *communis opinio* Burkert and West found evidence for a dating of the *Iliad* later than Hesiod's poems, namely to the middle of the 7th century BC,²⁵ the 'Orientalizing Period', when the oriental influence in Greek art was at its peak. Martin West, at the occasion of his reception as member of the Academy of Athens on 1 June 2010, sketched the epoch-making consequences of this dating in a brilliant paper:²⁶ Homer, the poet of the *Iliad* as transmitted (without the *Doloneia*, rhapsody 10), Homer, the heir of the tradition of oral poetry, wrote first an *Achilles Epos*, which had been singled out already by the Homer analysts as the 'Ur-Ilias'. Later, Homer expanded his first plan by inserting many lengthy episodes himself, which widened the scope of the poem in time and space. In this way, the many discrepancies detected by the analysts of single parts of the *Iliad* as well as the unmistakable signs of coherence seen by the unitarian Homerists can be explained, as well as the presence of many orientalizing elements in the later expansions of the *Iliad*. The basis of this new approach was West's monumental Teubner edition of the *Iliad*.²⁷ In *The Making of the Iliad* (2011) West expounded his views on broader lines; and in *The Making of the Odyssey* (2014) he addressed the corresponding questions in the *Odyssey*.²⁸

Beside this weighty focal point, there are many other fields of West's research which cannot be discussed here, namely his contributions to Greek early iambography, elegy and lyrics, not to forget his Teubner edition of Aeschylus.²⁹ But I must say something about another important area of West's research, namely Greek metrics and music. In 1982 West published his *Greek Metre*, in which his historical approach, which recalls in some ways the *Griechische Verskunst* of Ulrich von Wilamowitz, supersedes the systematic agenda of other relevant

21 Merkelbach-West 1967.

22 West 1966.

23 West 1971.

24 West 1997.

25 Burkert 1976, West 1995.

26 West 2010.

27 West 1998, 2000.

28 West 2011; 2014.

29 West 1990.

manuals.³⁰ And West's *Ancient Greek Music* (1992) combines the historical approach with insights of ethnomusicology, thus separating ancient Greek music from mistaken preconceptions formed by Western musical culture.³¹ Thus West's *Ancient Greek Music* was not superseded by Stefan Hagel's *Ancient Greek Music: A New Technical History*.³²

West's *Ancient Greek Music* includes chapters on ancient Greek notation and gives a catalogue of the musical fragments that were known from my *corpus* of 1970,³³ augmented by many new findings, mainly published from papyri by West himself. This led to my proposal to West to publish a new enlarged edition of my *corpus* of 1970, which West generously accepted.

In order to prepare the new book, Martin West, accompanied by Stephanie West, came to Erlangen in July 1997. Very soon, we agreed that the presentation of the fragments should be chronological. This approach resulted in four chapters: Chapter 1, Fragments from the Classical Period (four fragments), Chapter 2, Fragments of the late Classical to early Hellenistic Periods (fifteen fragments), Chapter 3, Late Hellenistic inscriptions from sanctuaries (three fragments), and Chapter 4, Fragments from the Roman Period (thirty-nine fragments). While I remained responsible for the old fragments, West presented the new ones, but made many important contributions to the old fragments as well. Thus the edition owes him much. The electronic master copy was manufactured by Ulrike Wagner in Erlangen, while the book was printed eventually by the Clarendon Press, Oxford.³⁴ It is already out of print, but can be purchased as a book on demand.

Of course, new musical fragments continued to appear after 2001. The first was a Louvre Papyrus containing iambic trimeters of the *Medea* of the younger Carcinus (380–350 BC), in which the speakers are Jason, Kreon and Medea. Only the lines of Medea are set to music. Annie Bélis claimed that the melody was by Carcinus.³⁵ West corrected the doubtful readings of Bélis and maintained that the papyrus (2nd century AD) presented a recomposition of an old text for the music hall scene of imperial times.³⁶ And Burkert, having improved the text again, reconstructed the history of the Medea story of Carcinus.³⁷ The next newcomer was a papyrus from the Vatican (Pap.Vat.Gr. 7, middle of 2nd

30 West 1982; Wilamowitz 1921.

31 West 1992.

32 Hagel 2010; see Pöhlmann 2013.

33 Pöhlmann 1970.

34 Pöhlmann-West 2001.

35 Bélis 2004.

36 West 2007.

37 Burkert 2008.

century BC), in three fragments of which the greatest presents, first, ten lines of text only, and at the end three lines with musical notation.³⁸ Finally, there was an unpublished paper of Felice Costabile (Salerno) at the Convegno di Studio at the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa, 21-23 September 2006, about papyri and polyptycha in the Piraeus Museum in Athens with enigmatic hints to musical notation.³⁹

After having recovered the history of the excavation of these documents in 1981, I informed Martin West, whom I had met in 2010 at his reception as a member of the Academy in Athens. Together with Stephanie West we were able to study the remains in the Piraeus Museum, where West at once noticed that the hints in the inventory books about musical signs in the polyptychon and the papyrus fragments were erroneous. After having published our results in a provisional paper,⁴⁰ we presented the content of the so called ‘Tomb of the Musician’ to the conference of MOISA in Salerno (18-20 January 2012). There were in two tombs two skeletons, lekythoi of about 430 BC, a writing case with pen and inkpot, a chisel and a saw, astragaloi, remains of a spindle harp, a lyre and an aulos, leaves of a polyptychon with remains of wax and letters, and innumerable tiny fragments of a papyrus scroll. As far as the text was readable, Martin West was able to establish its poetic nature, and to note the important fact that it used the Ionic alphabet. This vast quantity of material was published in ten papers in the first three volumes of *GRMS*.⁴¹

The Salerno conference was my last meeting with Martin West. His last e-mail reached me on 29 June 2015, a copy of a letter to an Italian colleague, whom Martin West informed, in his usual friendly but decisive manner, that his opinions about the Piraeus papyri were untenable. Before I could answer I received the sad news that Martin West, to whom I owe so much, had died on 13 July. When we were working on the *Documents*, his incredible command of Greek literature led us as a rule to a solution of controversial cases, which he tackled with British common sense. Philologists and musicologists have lost with Martin West an outstanding colleague. I have lost a friend. May he rest in peace.

Egert Pöhlmann

38 Martinelli-Pintaudi 2009.

39 See Martinelli-Pintaudi 2009 p. x.

40 See Pöhlmann – West 2012.

41 *GRMS* 1 (2013): papers of E. Pöhlmann, A. Alexopoulou and A-A Kaminari, E. Simon and I. Wehgartner, M.L. West, S. Psaroudakes, Ch. Terzes, S. Hagel; *GRMS* 2 (2014): papers of E. Lygouri-Tolia, A. Alexopoulou and I. Karamanou; *GRMS* 3 (2015): paper of D. Najock.

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The λεπάς in Alcaeus

A Study on fr. 359 Voigt

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Abstract

In the Alcaeus fragment 359 Voigt, the philological problems are linked not only with an unclear textual tradition, but also with the interesting and unexpected association between the λεπάς (a type of shellfish) and the tortoise (χέλως): this ambiguous linkage is created by the poet to arouse an emphatic effect in his audience. The historical and philological elements provided by Athenaeus in his quotation of the poem lead most scholars to accept the textual conclusions of Wilamowitz (χέλως instead of λεπάς). Nevertheless, the exegetical reading proposed by the German philologist (*i.e.* a riddle) can be put in doubt and replaced by a new interpretation based on the analysis of the context in which the poem is cited (a gastronomic passage of the *Deipnosophists*) and on that of the original performance (the banquet of Alcaeus and his *ἐταίρειά*). In light of this analysis, the little more than two Alcaic verses can be interpreted as a metaphorical apostrophe. In fact, Alcaeus seems to address the shellfish λεπάς and nickname it χέλως, arousing a highly ironic effect among the *συμπόται*. This figure of speech is based on the capacity of both the λεπάς and χέλως to be used to make sounds, even though the differences between these two elements of the symposium make the association paradoxical. A series of several fish-plates provided at the end of the article draws attention to the presence of shellfish—which seems to be less evident than the presence of the χέλως—at the ancient Greek symposia.

* I thank all who helped me in my research, my thinking and my writing. None of this work would have been possible without these precious people: my professors, Liana Lomiento (University of Urbino) and Pauline Le Ven (Yale University); Luigi La Rocca, director of the *Superintendence for Archaeological Heritage of Puglia*, and his assistants, Giuseppina Marsili, Francesca Radina, Adele Immacolata Pavone; Ada Riccardi for her precious advices; Patrick Waldron, John Skippen and Jason Kavett for making my English more fluent; the fishmonger “Pasqualino” from Gela (Sicily) for his oral knowledge of Sicilian dialect and shellfish; J., Valentine and my parents Elio & Carmela for their love, and for their new and friendly interest in shellfish.

Keywords

Alcaeus fr. 359 V. – λεπὰς – χέλυς – shell-fish – fish-plates – metaphorical apostrophe – sounds at the symposium – hyperbolic praise – comparison between sonorous objects

In this work, I intend to summarise the *status quaestionis* about a very vexed philological problem, and to propose a new exegetical solution. For this purpose, I will use not only a philological approach, but also the imaginative reconstruction of a concrete and performative context, the evidence of the pottery iconography and even the experience of walking by the sea.

The text is Alcaeus fr. 359 Voigt. More than one hundred years ago Wilamowitz analysed it lucidly, and after him most modern scholars have used his analysis of the little more than two verses handed down by Athenaeus (III, 85^f cod. A) as an admittedly problematic example of γρῖφος.¹ In fact, the German philologist first considered this poem, of which we have only the *incipit* and the *explicit*, a sympotic riddle that the poet from Mytilene (630/620-post 573/572 BC²) might have asked members of his ἐταιρεία, delighting and challenging them to sharpen their wits to find the solution. However, even though Wilamowitz's analysis was clear and helped us to comprehend the fragment, it was useful only in part. The philologist himself concluded his study by arguing, in a sharp word game worthy of the philological question treated, that he had solved the textual problem (vd. *infra*), but that he could not provide a good interpretation of it.³ What I want to do is to give a new interpretation, independent from Wilamowitz's conclusions, paying attention to what exactly the ancient sources say and, at the same time, considering the contexts in which the fragment was composed, sung and handed down. Thus the solution that I propose will take into consideration not only the text, but also the literary and the practical contexts that escaped Wilamowitz's attention.

Let us start from the context of the quotation.

The Quotation

In the third book of the *Deipnosophists*, in a section dedicated to gastronomy, Athenaeus mentions the wide variety of shellfish that Greeks enjoyed eating,

1 Among the few interpretations that reject Wilamowitz's point of view, cf. Neri 1996, 25-55.

2 For the testimonies of Alcaeus' life, cf. Liberman 1999, 1ff., Gentili-Catenacci 2007, 169ff.

3 Wilamowitz 1900, 76.

quoting several lines of *Hebe's Wedding* by Epicharmus (Ath. III, 85^{c-e} = fr. 40 K.-A.). The gastronomical context itself, in this case, requires lexical accuracy to identify the different kinds of shellfish. In III, 85^e, just before the quotation of our fragment, he mentions the *τελλίνη*, whose meat is sweet⁴ and which Romans called *mytilus*. Aristophanes of Byzantium, moreover, in his *Περὶ τῆς ἀχθυμένης σκυτάλης*,⁵ considered the *λεπάδες* similar (*ὁμοίως*) to the so-called *τελλίνοι* (fr. 367 Slater = Archil., test. 24 Tarditi).⁶

We must provide, at this point, a summary of the characteristics of the *λεπάδες* and of the *τελλίνοι*, that maybe we have already met, and even eaten, without drawing attention to them.

- The *τελλίνη* is a bivalve mollusc of the genus *Donax*, common on the sandy coasts of the Mediterranean Sea, much used for food, whose shell is elongate, more or less triangular, with slim and close concentric stripes. It lives sunken not far from the shore;⁷
- The *λεπάς* is a monovalve, gasteropod mollusc of the genus *Patella*, common on the Mediterranean Coasts, also used for food, having an open tent-shaped shell and found adhering tightly to the rock where it makes its resting-place.⁸

Athenaeus' text continues by recalling Callias of Mytilene (III, 85^f), who quotes, in his work *On the limpet in Alcaeus* (*Περὶ τῆς παρ' Ἀλκαίῳ λεπάδος*), the beginning and the end of an ode composed by the Lesbian poet, which constitute our fragment:

4 Cf. Epicharmus fr. 84 K.-A. (from *The Muses*), quoted in the same passage of Athenaeus: *κόγχος, ὃν τέλλιν καλέομεν· ἐστὶ δ' ἄριστον κρέας*.

5 This little treatise refers to Archilochus' expression in fr. 185, 2 W². Slater 1982, 340 accepts the possibility that Aristophanes would have interpreted the Archilochus' expression as a riddle, with reference to some little pipes (*skytaleia*) and to a shell used as a musical instrument (*keryx*). *Contra* Neri 1996, 28.

6 The term *τελλίνη* seems to come from the Ancient Sicel Language (cf. Wilamowitz 1900, 74). Even nowadays, some Sicilian Dialects (e.g. that of Agrigento) make the distinction between the terms *patedda* (*λεπάς*) and *tellina* (*τελλίνη*), whereas other ones do not (e.g. that of Gela).

7 In English it is sometimes called the Tellin. The Oxford English Dictionary includes all the similar bivalve molluscs (and particularly those of the genus *Cardium*), in the term *Cockle*. Cf. also LSJ, s.v. *Τέλλιν*: *a small bivalve shell-fish*.

8 Cf. Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. *Limpet*. Among the ancient sources, the best description of testaceans (*τὰ ὀστρακοδέρματα*), divided into *μονόθυρα* (monovalves) and *δίθυρα* (bivalves), is in Arist. *PA* 679^b. Also C. Aelianus (*NA* VI 56, 5-6) mentions that *λεπάδες* adhere to the rocks.

Πέτρας καὶ πολιᾶς⁹ θαλάσσας τέκνον...

... ἐκ δὲ παίδων¹⁰ χαύνοις φρένας ἅ θαλασσία λεπάς.

After this quotation, there is another very precious remark:

ὁ δ' Ἀριστοφάνης γράφει ἀντὶ τοῦ λεπάς χέλυς, καὶ φησιν οὐκ εὖ Δικαίᾳρχον ἐκδεξάμενον λέγειν τὰς λεπάδας· τὰ παιδάρια δὲ ἡνίκ' ἂν εἰς τὸ στόμα λάβωσιν, αὐλεῖν ἐν ταύταις καὶ παίζειν, καθάπερ καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν τὰ σπερμολόγα τῶν παιδαρίων ταῖς καλουμέναις τελλίναις, ὥς καὶ Σώπατρός φησιν ὁ φλυακογράφος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ δράματι Εὐβουλοθεομβρότῳ·

ἀλλ' ἴσχε· τελλίνης γὰρ ἐξαίφνης μέ τις
ἀκοὰς μελωδὸς ἦχος εἰς ἐμάς ἔβη¹¹

But Aristophanes writes¹² χέλυς instead of λεπάς, and says that Dicaearchus (s. 110 Fortenbaugh-Schütrumpf) speaks about the λεπάδες not interpreting well;¹³ little boys, when they bring those to their mouths, play them like αὐλοί and have fun, just as, among us, scamps do with the so-called τελλίνοι, also according to what Sopatros, the writer of φλύακες,¹⁴ says in the drama entitled *Eubulus the Demigod*:

But wait: for suddenly a melodious
echo of a τελλίνη came to my ears.

9 The correction by Hoffmann (πολιάς) for the transmitted πόλιάς (cod. A) has been accepted by Voigt. Vd. *infra*.

10 ἐκ δὲ παίδων is a correction by Ahrens, instead of the transmitted ἐκλεπάδιον (cod. A).

11 Sopatros (IV-III cent. BC), fr. 7 K.-A., I, 275.

12 As we can't clearly state whether the verb γράφειν, in this case, means "to emend" (= "to emend a corrupt reading") or "to agree with" (= "to agree with a *varia lectio*"), I prefer to translate more generally "to write". Thus Aristophanes, according to my exegesis, read χέλυς. For the sense of the verb cf. Neri 1996, 34-37.

13 It is possible to interpret differently the expression οὐκ εὖ Δικαίᾳρχον ἐκδεξάμενον λέγειν: "agreeing without reason, he says" (*scil.* τὰς λεπάδας). It is actually difficult to understand which opinions were those of Dicaearchus and which of Aristophanes. The latter, in any case, expresses a different exegesis from that of the Aristotelian. Cf. Liberman 1999, 244. See also West 1990, 6, followed by Porro 1994, 7-9, who interpret the semicolon after λεπάδας differently, and attribute to Dicaearchus an allusion to the anecdote according to which children have fun playing the shells.

14 Tragic burlesques.

Following the *auctoritas* of Aristophanes, the most important Hellenistic editor of archaic lyric poetry, modern scholars edit the text of Alcaeus's fragment with the reading proposed by the Byzantine philologist (*i.e.* with χέλυσ instead of λεπάς):

Πέτρας καὶ πολίαις θαλάσ-
σας τέκνον...

Child of the rock and of the grey
sea...

... ἐκ δὲ παί- ... you puff up
δων χάνυνος φρένας, ἃ θαλασσία χέλυσ. the minds of children, sea carapace.

This text differs from that of the Voigt edition (p. 323) only in the word χάνυνος (correction by Lobel),¹⁵ instead of the transmitted χάνοις (cod. A), emended by Voigt to χάνυνος.¹⁶

The Problems

The problems with these verses can be summarised under two headings: on the one hand, the textual choice of Aristophanes (χέλυσ for λεπάς),¹⁷ and on the other the logical connections between children, the sounds, the λεπάδες, and the χέλυσ. These two subjects, the first more philological, the second more cultural, are intimately related.

After dealing with the first exhaustively, I will discuss the second, drawing attention to the context and to the implied cultural references of the fragment.

15 The form -ωις for the second person singular of the verb χανύω is accepted, in the Aeolic dialect, on the analogy with the forms -αω and -εω. Cf. Gallavotti 1962, 154-155, and Gentili-Catenacci 2007, 400-401. In my translation I understand, with Gallavotti *ibid.*, 114, the tmesis of the verb ἐκχανύω "puff up" (LSJ), with its ambiguity between the physical and the metaphorical senses. Cf. the translation by Olson 2006^a, 473 (whose text reports χάνυνος and λεπάς): "child of the rock and the gray sea... may you puff up the minds of children, sea-limpet".

16 Liberman 1999, 159 also accepts the emendation χάνυνος, understanding it—as we read in his translation—as the second person singular of the indicative present ἐκχανυνώ, with tmesis. Cf. De Martino-Vox 1996, 1277.

17 This substitution is to be understood either as a correction or as a *varia lectio* chosen by the Byzantine editor.

Aristophanes of Byzantium's reading of χέλυσ instead of λεπάς¹⁸ as the final term of the poem, is the origin not only of the corrections of modern editors, but also of the various and different interpretations that try to clarify the dispute that must have taken place, across many decades, between Callias, Aristophanes and Dicaearchus (here we cite them in order of their appearance in the text).

Even though the text of Athenaeus is not completely clear, we can however start from the certain elements, so that we can then discuss the uncertain ones:

- Callias of Mytilene, about whom we know only that he annotated Sappho's and Alcaeus' texts (cf. Str. XIII 2, 4), knew our poem ending with the term λεπάς;
- Aristophanes of Byzantium (III-II cent. BC), famous for his edition of the ἐννέα λυρικοί, knew the same poem, but ending with χέλυσ instead of λεπάς.

We can add to these elements many other uncertain ones, which allow us only to conjecture which were the correct positions in the dispute, without any possibility of certitude:

- Dicaearchus of Messana (IV-III cent. BC),¹⁹ Aristotelian scholar, who wrote a work on Alcaeus,²⁰ knew these verses. It is not possible to say with conviction whether he read λεπάς, and was criticized for this by the later Aristophanes, or whether he read χέλυσ, and differed from the Alexandrian philologist only in his interpretation. In this case—*i.e.* if also Dicaearchus read the poem ending with χέλυσ—we can imagine:

- A) that the sentence “little boys, when they bring those to their mouths, play them like αὐλοί and have fun” must be referred to Dicaearchus, who would have interpreted χέλυσ as a metaphor for λεπάς, and that the *tertium comparationis* would be the possibility of both of them of being musical instruments. According to this reading, nevertheless, Aristophanes' interpretation of χέλυσ would remain unknown.²¹

18 The textual wavering between λεπάς and χέλυσ, since antiquity, is possible also because the two terms are metrically equivalent.

19 Cf. Wehrli 1944, 13ff. (ancient sources), 43-44 (commentary), and more recently Fortenbaugh-Schütrumpf 2001, 10ff.

20 Cf. Fortenbaugh-Schütrumpf *ibid.*, 102-105.

21 Cf. West 1990, 6; Liberman 1999, 244. Cf. also Olson 2006^a, 473. According to Wilamowitz, *ibid.*, 75, this sentence must be connected to Aristophanes, but he would have recorded Dicaearchus' interpretation. It is easier to attribute the following sentence “just as among

- B) that the sentence “little boys, when they bring those to their mouths, play them like αὐλοί and have fun” must be referred to Aristophanes, who probably would have associated the χέλυς with the λεπάς, and have intended them as two potential musical instruments. If this were true, we would have to explain also how Dicaearchus understood the association of χέλυς-λεπάς or, rather, according to the text, between the χέλυς and the plural λεπάδες. We don’t have to exclude, according to these readings, the possibility that the exegetical distance between Dicaearchus and Aristophanes might have concerned the instrumental family in which they put the λεπάς, whether in the wind instruments (Aristophanes’ thesis) or in the percussion ones (Dicaearchus, who might have recognised in the λεπάδες a sort of castanets).²²
- We can’t know the chronological position of Callias of Mytilene in the tradition, even though Wilamowitz 1900, 75 put him after Dicaearchus and Aristophanes.²³

Wilamowitz’s Solution: A Riddle

According to Wilamowitz (1900, 74-76), this poem is a riddle. The poet would have posed it to the guests, animating the symposium through the amusing search for its solution. And the answer, hidden behind the sentence “Child of the rock and of the grey sea”, would actually be the λεπάς. This key to reading the poem-riddle was quickly accepted by scholars because it is very useful in untying one of the most important exegetical knots: Aristophanes would have preferred χέλυς to λεπάς for it was impossible that Alcaeus, at the end of his riddle, gave the solution.²⁴ The term χέλυς, on the contrary, would hide

us scamps do with the so-called *τελλίνοι*” to Athenaeus’ voice, as well as the quotation of Sopatros’ verses. Cf., for this point, Porro *ibid.*, 9.

22 For this interpretation, cf. Canfora 2001, I, 237-238. Neri 1996, 50-51, with Slater 1982, 339, suggest one further reading: Dicaearchus would have not only read λεπάς, but also misinterpreted the λεπάδες, understanding them as *κρέμβαλα* (castanets) and not as wind instruments. Cf. Neri *ibid.* and De Martino-Vox 1996, 1274-1275, for the important references (above all Athen. xiv 636^{c-e}) to the possibility of *κρεμβαλιάζειν* with the λεπάδες.

23 For this chronological problem, cf. Porro 1994, 10-11. Neri 1996, 29-34 considers more likely a high dating of Callias, to the Vth century. Thus we would have the following chronological series: Callias of Mytilene, Dicaearchus of Messana, Aristophanes of Byzantium.

24 Cf. Liberman 1999, 243-244.

the answer of the γρίφος, *i.e.* the λεπάς.²⁵ The carapace would continue to hide the solution—leaving the audience in doubt until the end—and, through a noble and witty comparison, would intensify the musical value of the λεπάς in the apostrophe “sea carapace” (ἄ θαλασσία χέλυς).²⁶ According to this interpretation, χέλυς would only point towards λεπάς as the solution because both of them can make sounds. This element would be the final clue given by the poet to the solution of the riddle, of which we have only the beginning, “Child of the rock and of the grey sea”, and the ambiguous expression ἐκ δὲ παιδῶν χαύνως φρένας. Being at the end of the γρίφος, the term χέλυς would represent the highest point of the verbal climax that, from a simple allusion (v. 1) to the clear and unequivocal clue (final verse), recalls the mysterious shellfish. Thus, following this interpretation, we could understand why Aristophanes preferred the allusive term χέλυς to the solution λεπάς.

We could say that Wilamowitz found an exegetical solution in a riddle: the correct reading was, in his opinion, that of Aristophanes (χέλυς), whereas Dicaearchus, even though he had read the same word, would have interpreted it differently.

Some recent scholars (Slater, Blanck-Dyck),²⁷ adhering to the γρίφος theory, argue that Dicaearchus and Aristophanes would have chosen different textual interpretations: the first would have read “the solution” λεπάς, whereas the second would have read the allusive term, χέλυς, a *lectio difficilior* in every sense, for it made the solution more difficult even for the intended audience.

Although the γρίφος theory is very fascinating, we can raise two important objections to it.

The first, and maybe most evident, is the silence of Athenaeus: if it had been a γρίφος, the author of *Deipnosophists*, who devotes a large section in the tenth book to this genre, would have had the opportunity of referring to it as a riddle at least once, before or after quoting Alcaeus' poem. On the contrary, Callias quotes it only using the term ὠδή (111, 85^f).

25 According to West 1990, 6 we must consider these verses as having belonged to a riddle, but we don't know which solution was identified by Aristophanes, who, in any case, would have criticized the one proposed by Dicaearchus (*i.e.* λεπάς).

26 The metaphor would have had a *tertium comparationis* with an oppositive sense (mountain *vs.* sea). In fact, the χέλυς with which Hermes built the first λύρα came from a mountain turtle, and not from a sea one. Cf. *h.Merc.*, 33 (χέλυς ὄρεσι ζώουσα) and 42 (ὄρεσκώοιο χελώνης).

27 Neri 1996, 46-47 summarizes the positions of Slater 1982 and those of Blanck-Dyck 1984.

The second and more important objection is formal: even if many γρίφοι make reference to shellfish, snails, crustacea and turtles,²⁸ it is not a typical element of riddles to directly address the object that is the solution or the key-word, as would have been the case in our fragment.²⁹ The forms in which riddles are constructed in ancient Greece are quite different.

Athenaeus himself, for example, quotes in the tenth book some riddles in which the main formal characteristic is the dialogue between two people. In the γρίφος proposed by Alexis (x, 449^{d-e} = fr. 242 K.-A.) and in that of Antiphanes' *Sappho* (x, 450^e-451^b = fr. 194 K.-A.), to give two examples, the authors themselves, after dialogues with some interested interlocutors, give the solution and explain the riddle they have asked.

In a similar way, in her γρίφοι, Cleobulina introduces the mysterious object that must be guessed with the formula ἄνδρ' εἶδον (fr. 1, 2 W.), or talks of it in the third person, as in fr. 3 W² .:

κνήμη νεκρὸς ὄνος με κερασφόρῳ οὐδας ἔκρουσεν·

a dead donkey struck my ears with a horned tibia

Here the solution, as Plutarch remarks (*Sept. sap. conv.* 5, 150^e), is the Phrygian αὐλός.³⁰

In other sympotic odes with a strongly enigmatic character, although they are not quite γρίφοι, the object introduces itself to the guests, speaking through the poet's voice. In poems like these, the object talks in the first person. I give below an example of a *carmen conviviale* with clear musical connections (fr. adesp. 900 PMG):

εἶθε λύρα καλὴ γενοίμην ἑλεφαντίνῃ
καί με καλοὶ παῖδες φέροιεν Διονύσιον ἐς χορόν.

oh that I were a beautiful ivory λύρα
and beautiful children carried me in Dionysus' chorus!

28 Cf. W. Schultz, in *RE* I A/1 [1914], s.v. *Rätsel*, 91ff.

29 Cf. Neri 1996, 48, who considers it more reasonable to omit the riddle's interpretation.

30 For the description of this instrument, vd. West 1992, 91.

Another Solution: A Metaphor

There are many good reasons to propose a new exegetical reading, different from that of Wilamowitz, and based on the principle of metaphor. In fact, in light of my considerations until now, it is clear that the dispute born in Antiquity—whether it was textual, exegetical or more general—depends fundamentally on an intentional ambiguity, or on a metaphorical sense that runs throughout the fragment. I argue that we should recognize in the doubleness of a metaphor the origin of the textual and exegetical divergence.

The few certain elements of the fragment can suggest a witty and complex apostrophe addressed to the λεπάς. This latter would have “appeared” in the symposium at one of its most important moments: the arrival of the courses. We can easily imagine the λεπάς making its entrance, together with grilled fish and boiled shellfish, on separate beautiful platters, and served with savoury sauces.³¹

The poet would have addressed the λεπάς, exalting its qualities with exaggerated comparisons, inviting the guests to laugh at his verve. Moreover, in order to increase the ironic effect of this metaphorical apostrophe, the poet would have refrained from explicitly saying λεπάς, at least at the beginning and at the end. Moreover Alcaeus would have used lofty associations to exaggerate the reference to the λεπάς, producing a type of comedy that was in accordance with the symposium’s atmosphere.

The metaphor-reading and the γρίφος-reading are not very distant from one another,³² since according to Aristotle, the riddle uses the same principle

31 One similar scene is described by Athenaeus in III, 85^c. Moreover, in the *Convivium Atticum* by Matro, a parodic-gastronomic poem handed down by Athenaeus (IV, 134^d-137^c = SH 534 = fr. 1 O.-S.), the importance of fish in an Attic dinner is evident, as well as that of shellfish and fish-plates. In particular, in 25-26 someone (like a cook) “came carrying fan-mussels †and echoing wheat-paste cakes†, | which the clear water nourishes (as they hang) down from a rock with seaweed hair”, and in 85-86 “a casserole-dish, which no-one was laying hands on as he dined, lay there | in a clear spot, where a space appeared among the cookpots”. Transl. by Olson 2006^b, 147, 153.

32 There is one more element, not considered by the advocates of the riddle-interpretation, that would put it nearer to the metaphorical one: the fact that whoever guessed the riddle received a piece of meat as a trophy, whereas whoever couldn’t find the right solution had to pay a forfeit by drinking a cup of salt water. Cf. Poll. Z 107, 254 Bekker. Thus if they guessed the answer to the riddle, guests would have had the chance of eating some λεπάδες, or, according to my interpretation, the guests who followed Alcaeus’ metaphorical apostrophe recognized in it what they had just eaten, i.e. some λεπάδες.

of metaphor: to connect two impossible elements while talking about real things.³³

I will recall a few important elements of the performative context, *i.e.* the symposium, to show the reasons for my interpretation.

The Sympotic Context

The symposium is the best context for using linguistic ambiguity, and thanks to the power of wine, words and expressions can easily assume a double sense, *i.e.* political or erotic. The complicity in the *ἐταιρεία* could make a metaphor not only a beautiful exercise of style, but also an elegant and amusing joke. The lexical choices of the *incipit* and the *explicit* allow us to attribute a metaphorical sense to the whole of Alcaeus' *ῥῥῆγ*. The poet directly addresses the *λεπάς*, with epithets that exaggerate its role and its presence within the symposium.

A further element in support of my reading is the reference to the physical sensations that the audience must have felt during the performance of this poem. All the senses were involved in joking, in taking part in the *kottabos*, in talking about politics and in singing songs for gods, in addressing the cup-bearer and in consorting with *aulos* players, and, last but not least, in eating. Thus, the *συμπόται* heard beautiful songs³⁴ and had interesting conversations, heard and saw the grace of *aulētrides*, they admired the pottery's images, stroked the pillows of *κλίναι* and the skin of young bodies, and they were delighted to smell and taste delicious courses brought around the room. The wine, *καὶ ναὶ σὰνς διρε*, exalted the gastronomic pleasure, giving the *συμπόται* lightness for joking and erotic fervour. Thus, the symposium represented a total sensory experience.

Gastronomy is the context in which Athenaeus quotes the *λεπάδες*, before quoting Alcaeus' verses. It is not difficult to imagine the "entrance" of this shellfish among the guests (of Alcaeus and of Athenaeus), served on beautiful fishplates and ready to be tasted with good dressing prepared *ad hoc*.³⁵ The analysis of several examples of pottery, made for eating fish and shellfish, would suggest also a "double" presence of the *λεπάδες*: of those to eat, and of those represented on the plate.³⁶ This *mise en abîme* (real and painted *λεπάδες*)

33 Cf. Arist. *Po.* 1458^a 26-30.

34 For the performance within the symposium, cf. West 1992, 25-26.

35 A similar effect must have been produced by the ceramic vessels of the Palace of Minos. Cf. Evans 1921, 522-523.

36 Cf. the passage of the *Convivium Atticum*, 85-86, mentioned above, with the evocation of a casserole-dish, in Greek *βατάνη*, a Sicilian term for *πατάνη*.

could suggest an ironic apostrophe to these new “guests”, who have traveled from the sea to the symposium. Several fishplates, the images of which we provide at the end of this article, also show the visual similarity between λεπάδες and τελλίνοι.³⁷ The frequent iconographic evocation of these shellfish, accompanied by many other varieties of fish, confirms their usual presence in the sympotic menu.

To sing in honour of a shellfish, addressing it directly in the second person, must have aroused a highly ironic effect among the συμπόται, not only through the distance between the solemnity of the apostrophe and its trivial object, but also thanks to the parodic recollection of more serious allocutions, normally addressed since the archaic period to a noble element, like the wine or the χέλυσ.³⁸ This latter must have been a prestigious image for the banal λεπάς.

Thus the metaphor that we are dealing with, through its power of evocation and its ἐνάργεια, must have enriched in irony the symposium’s atmosphere, accompanying the gastronomic pleasure of guests with an unusual mental association (φαντασία): that of nicknaming a shellfish χέλυσ. More particularly, according to Aristotle, in this case there would be a metaphor by analogy (Arist. *Po.* 21. 3, 1457^b, 17–25;³⁹ *Rh.* 111. 2, 1405^a 8–13) thanks to the similarity in shape of the two items, even if there are many other aspects in which they differ from each other (see below). One of these is their size: a χέλυσ is considerably larger than a λεπάς. Thus, nicknaming a shellfish χέλυσ could be considered as a metaphoric apostrophe which includes a hyperbolic—and for this reason ironic—praise. Moreover, seeing the λεπάδες *on* the plates and *in* the plates on the one hand, and the χέλυσ played by a banqueter on the other hand, would have increased the effect of this metaphor with a pleasing sense of exaggeration.⁴⁰

Old Text, New Reading

My interpretation, although it reaches the same textual conclusions as Wilamowitz, arrives at an entirely different exegetical point of view.

37 Many examples are provided by McPhee-Trendall 1987, pl. 50ff.

38 In the *Convivium Atticum*, Matro obtains the ironic effect also by using Homeric formulas in association with trivial elements of the banquet.

39 Cf. commentary on this passage by Schmitt 2008, 623ff.

40 Aristotle treats the strong connection between hyperboles and metaphors in *Rh.* 111. 11, 1413^a 21–1413^b 2.

The metaphorical sense of the poem corroborates Aristophanes' reading. The word χέλυς was used instead of λεπάς to continue the metaphoric apostrophe, and not to hide the solution of a γρίφος. Dicaearchus, I can argue, handed down the reading χέλυς, accepted by the later Aristophanes, who, nevertheless, interpreted the metaphor in a different way from his predecessor. Callias, we know neither why (*varia lectio* or *lectio facilior*?) nor in which moment of the tradition, read the same poem ending with λεπάς. All three scholars must have understood the metaphorical meaning of the apostrophe.

It is more reasonable to connect the sentence "little boys, when they bring those to their mouths, play them like αὐλοί and have fun" to Aristophanes' reading. This latter, explaining that the *tertium comparationis* of λεπάς and χέλυς is the possibility of becoming a musical instrument, added that the shell was played like an aerophone, whereas probably Dicaearchus had identified it as an idiophone (κρέμβαλα, vd. *supra*). Athenaeus later takes part in the *quaestio*, confirming Aristophanes' exegesis: moreover, in his time (II-III cent. AD) little boys played τελλίναι, similar to λεπάδες, in the same way as children evoked by Aristophanes blew into the shells as into an αὐλός. One question must be asked: if Athenaeus agreed with Aristophanes, why then didn't he report the text of Alcaeus' poem according to his reading (*i.e.* with χέλυς)? We can imagine that, because he has just mentioned the λεπάς, the author of the *Deipnosophists* wants to evoke the *vulgata* at his time (*i.e.* with λεπάς), which made explicit reference to that shell.

Alcaeus' sympotic poem, in the form of a metaphorical apostrophe, has some points of contact with certain compositions of another famous sympotic poet, Anacreon. In fact, in several of the latter's verses, we can find the same tones of apostrophe and allocution, and more grammatically, the vocative and the second-person singular. The direct address, within sympotic literature, is a means for relating with the audience and for making reference to the *hic et nunc* of the ἐταιρεία. In this sense, invoking an object, an animal or a person with their sonorous characteristics means making explicit reference to the auditive dimension of the symposium.

In Anacreon, we can find three examples in which the object of an invocation or of an exhortation recalls, through its sonorous characteristics, the "audiosphere" of the symposium: in 112 G. = 394^a PMG (ἡδυμελές χαρίεσσα χελιδοῖ) the poet refers to the spring through the "sweet song" swallow; in fr. 48 G. = 427 PMG he warns a girl at the symposium not to toast and drink like Gastrodora, *i.e.* making noise and "babbling like the sea" (μηδ' ὥστε κύμα πόντιον | λάλαζε, τῇ πολυκρότῃ | σὺν Γαστροδώρῳ); in fr. 33 G. = 356^b PMG he exhorts himself and his friends to avoid the Scythian manners of drinking pure wine "with clatters and war's shouting" (πατάγω τε κάλαλῃτῳ), and, on the contrary, to sip with Ionian elegance, singing beautiful hymns for gods (ἀλλὰ καλοῖς ὑποπίνοντες ἐν ὕμνοις).

An interesting comparison with Alcaeus' verses is also a fragment of a Sappho poem, fr. 118 V., in which the poetess directly addresses the χέλυς calling it "divine" and exhorting it to accomplish its precious communicative role:⁴¹

ἄγι δὴ χέλυ δῖα τμοι λέγετ
φωνάεσσα τδὲ γίνεοτ

How Can a λεπάς be Played?

We have to consider now the sonorous potentiality of a λεπάς, confirmed by Sopatros' quotation. In Alcaeus' verses we notice only one reference, the last word, to the world of sounds: this can mean that the long metaphor at first exalted the visual characteristics of the λεπάς, and only at the end, through the comparison with the carapace, did the poet made reference to its musical potentiality, directly linking it to the game of children. Explaining how these latter could obtain a sound from a monovalve shell like the λεπάς belongs to the exegetical problems of this fragment. Several scholars (*i.e.* Slater 1982, 340) have pointed out that "λεπάδες, differently from the τελλίνοι, are monovalve, and thus it is impossible that they were used to make sounds by blowing into them".⁴² This latter statement, however, doesn't consider the potentiality of a shell—even a monovalve—nor the great inventiveness of children, whose role is made explicit by the comment following the poem's quotation: little boys could make sounds either from the λεπάδες or from the τελλίνοι in a similar way. But many scholars—maybe influenced by the scientific nature that they impose on situations, which are in fact more dynamic and flexible than a theoretical hypothesis would allow—continue to consider it unlikely that the monovalve λεπάδες could be used to obtain a sound. On the other hand, they judge possible the same operation with the bivalve τελλίνοι.

However—as would be known by anyone who picked up the shells from the sand or near the rocks, as children do—, even if the τελλίνοι are described and represented in science-books as bivalve, in reality their valves are normally found empty and separated on the shore. Thus, if it was possible to play the τελλίνοι, it was also possible to play the λεπάδες. The similarity of these shellfish, pointed out by Aristophanes, concerns not only the sweetness of their

41 For the strong relationship between the χέλυς and singing, cf. Sapph. fr. 58 v., 12: φιλάοιδον λιγύραν χελύνναν; for a reminiscence of the *topos* "singing lyre", cf. Hor. *Carm.* 111, 11, 3ff.: "*testudo . . . loquax . . . dic modos*". Neri 1996, 49 cites other allocutions, similar to Sappho's but chronologically later.

42 Transl. from Porro 1994, 9.

meat (we recall the gastronomic context of the passage), but also the shape of their shells, flatter and smaller than other kinds of shellfish, like the murex or the *Charonia Tritonis*, well-known in Antiquity, and used until not long ago by shepherds like a trumpet.⁴³

To understand how children could obtain a sound from these shells we need only to read more carefully the text of Athenaeus, who uses the verb αὐλεῖν to explain their technique. The reference to the αὐλός, through its cognate verb, is not used, in my opinion, in a generic way: playing an αὐλός meant to use a reed (γλῶσσα) and a strong blow (cf. ἐκχυνόω). Either for λεπάδες or for τελλίναι children would have adopted a technique that recalled, in principle, that of playing the αὐλός. We must imagine that they put the valve at the base of two fingers (e.g. between the index finger and the middle finger), blew strongly, exploiting the vibration either of their lips or of the slit created by the two fingers—making of them a natural reed -, and obtaining a shrill, strong, and—we can imagine—annoying noise:⁴⁴ for this reason children are referred to with the pejorative term σπερμολόγα,⁴⁵ and Sopatros considers “melodious” (μελωδὸς ἦχος),⁴⁶ in an antiphrastic sense, the sound of a τελλίνη. Moreover, it

43 For this use of big spiral shells (for which the most common term is κόγχλος), cf. E. *IT*, 303, Theocr. xxii, 75. Cf. also the gloss of Hesychius (n° 3882, 522 Latte) to the term Κόγχλος: τοῖς θαλαττίοις ἐχρῶντο πρὸ τῆς τῶν σαλπίγγων εὐρέσεως. καὶ ὁ στρόμβος. We recall, for the Roman world, Verg., *Aen.* vi, 171, in which Misenus plays the *concha* of Triton, and is punished by the waves of the sea for his arrogance: *Sed tum, forte cava dum personat aequora concha, | demens, et cantu vocat in certamina divos, | aemulus exceptum Triton, si credere dignum est, | inter saxa virum spumosa immerserat unda.* Cf. the comment on this passage in Austin 1977, 91, with other references to the instrument of the sea god. Conch shells have been used like trumpets until recent times by shepherds and farmers of the South of Italy. Cf. the terms *Tofa* and *Brogna* in the Vocabolario della Lingua Italiana Treccani.

44 The same technique is adopted to obtain a safety whistle from an acorn, by the author of the following video in Youtube: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nffLvY8PoCE> or finding it in Google Video, “Sifflet de Survie” (first video of the list). I thank the musicologist Valentine Lorentz for this precious suggestion. My technical explanation is maybe expressed, *in nuce*, in West 1990, 6. On the other hand, it is very unlikely, following Porro 1994, 10, that children removed the λεπάδες from the rocks, obtaining them like a trophy: for this operation they would have needed some utensils, too dangerous—or too sophisticated—for a simple and amusing children's game. Direct experience shows how difficult it is to take a λεπάς off the rock. In fact only experts can lift a *patella* off from the rock, with a thick knife and during high tide, when the mollusk adheres less tightly to the rock.

45 For the terms σπερμολόγα and παιδάρια, used with a negative connotation to designate children who “play like an αὐλός” the λεπάδες, cf. Neri 1996, 52-53.

46 The adverb ἐξαίφνης, used by Sopatros, would express the immediateness and the rapidness of the sound obtained from the shell. For the use of this adverb in connection with an auditive sensation, cf. Pl. *Cr.* 396b.

was very difficult to obtain a sound from this type of shell, and this operation must have needed experience, patience and a very strong blow. This game not only amused children (cf. παίξιν), but also was a cause for pride for anyone who obtained the shrill sound, even if people who heard it may not have been very happy. After this game, children must have been very tired, because of their many attempts, but also proud of themselves: their feeling is expressed well by the *iunctura* ἐκχαυνοῦν φρένας, the meaning of which oscillates between a physical sense (“to weaken the lungs”)⁴⁷ and a metaphorical one (“to make the mind proud”).⁴⁸

A Comparison between Games

To conclude, I consider it useful and enlightening to investigate the metaphorical approach χέλυς-λεπιάς in light of a comparison between Alcaeus and other ancient Greek texts, particularly the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (*h.Merc.*). As I will show, the carapace and the λεπιάς have, contrary to what we would expect, many points in common.

The first and most obvious one is the concave shape, despite their different dimensions. Moreover, both of them were emptied of their meat: the λεπιάς was emptied certainly for gastronomic reasons, whereas for the turtle, we can only imagine that Greeks ate its meat, as was common, for example in French and Italian kitchens, before this animal became endangered. In any case, they are both linked to the symposium: χέλυς mainly because of its role in musical accompaniment, λεπιάς above all for the pleasure of the table. We have seen all these elements attributed to the λεπιάς in the Alcaeus fragment. A passage from a letter that Synesius of Cyrene (370-413 AD) sent to his brother, and several important verses of the *Homeric Hymn* confirm that the λεπιάς and the χέλυς were tightly linked to gastronomy and to the symposium respectively.

47 Cf. Liberman 1999, 159: “tu vides les poumons des petits, toi la lyre de la mer”.

48 Cf. Porro 1994, 8: “Tu inorgogliisci gli animi dei fanciulli, conchiglia marina”; Canfora 2001, 237: “dei ragazzi incanti la mente, tu, conchiglia marina”; Olson 2006^a, 473: “may you puff up | the minds of children, sea-limpet”. Differently, West 1990, 6, comparing Alcaeus’ fragment to fr. adesp. eleg. 19 W.², attributes to the same expression a pejorative sense, and translates “you evacuate boys’ wits”. In a similar way, Slater 1982, 337 translates: “you make empty the minds of children”.

Syn. *Epist.* V, 246:

I and the Roman worshipper, on the other hand, have strength thanks to the λεπάδες (the λεπάς is a hollow oyster which, after adhering to a rock, clings to it firmly).⁴⁹

h.Merc. 31-32:

Hello, pleasing sight, lovely lady-friend at the feast,
heartbeat of the dance!⁵⁰

Id. 41-42:

Then, flipping her over, with an iron carving knife
he scooped out the mountain tortoise's marrow.⁵¹

Id. 63-64:

Then Hermes placed the hollow lyre⁵²
into his holy cradle.⁵³

49 Synesius uses a term that designates a bivalve shellfish (ὄστρεον), but in a general sense, not recalling the distinction between monovalves and bivalves. In fact, his description refers clearly to a monovalve shellfish that can adhere to the rock. In a similar way, the term ὄστρεον (=ὄστρεον) is used also specifically of oysters, as in Archestratos of Gela, fr. 7, 1 O.-S. For this latter fragment, in which the presence of shellfish is very important, cf. Olson-Sens 2000, 39-44. Aristophanes, in his comedies, used the image of the λεπάς adhering to the rock in metaphorical contexts: vd. *V.*, 105 and *Pl.*, 1096. Cf. also the gloss by Hesychius to the term λεπάδες: τὰ πρὸς ταῖς πέτραις κεκολλημένα κογχύλια ὄστρέων ἐλάττω (n° 657, 585 Latte).

50 For this passage we have two possible textual interpretations: χοροῖτύπε and χοροῖτυπε. The first one displays the humor of Hermes in comparing the movements of turtle to a dance. Cf. Càssola 1975, 518. For the different meanings of the two textual choices, and for a comment on the entire passage, cf. Vergados 2013, 251-252.

51 The god continues this operation in 47-48 (transl. by Rayor 2004, 50): "Cutting reed stalks to measure, he fastens them | by piercing through the back of the tortoise shell".

52 The term φόρμιγξ, in the original text, probably indicates here that the construction of the instrument is completed. In the subsequent verses Hermes goes hunting to eat meat (end of v. 64), and more precisely beef (116sgg.). If the turtle meat had been a choice dish, the god would have certainly eaten it. *Ex silentio*, we can argue that turtle meat wasn't, at least in the archaic period, an excellent food, or also that Greeks didn't know turtles in a gastronomic sense.

53 Transl. by Rayor 2004, 56-57.

As the operation of Hermes shows, turtles were used as sound-boxes for the φόρμιγξ (in the homeric hymn, χέλως, φόρμιγξ and κίθαρις⁵⁴ all refer to the same instrument); the λεπάς, on the other hand, is emptied mainly to be eaten, and its musical use is less noble, and more extemporaneous, than that of the carapace, played by experienced musicians, and not by children who challenge each other for fun. It is clear that both the λεπάς and the χέλως are linked to a feeling of pleasure, and more particularly, of children's pleasure: the first is connected to the pleasure of producing a sound, in a spirit of competition and of challenge; the second is called a toy (ἄθυρμα, vd. *infra*) by its little inventor Hermes.

Another important element, for the comparison between χέλως and λεπάς, is the metaphorical idea that both of them, and other similar objects, can "speak" after "their death".

We can see all these elements in the verses below: in the same Homeric Hymn, Hermes addresses with irony the still living turtle, saying to it that it would sing better after its death; and in a elegiac dystich Theognis applies the metaphor of the "speaking dead" to a shellfish.

h.Merc. 32-38:

Where did you get that pretty toy,
that speckled shell⁵⁵ of yours, dear mountain tortoise?
I'll bring you in and you'll do me good
and to your benefit, although mine first.
Better to stay in, as it's dangerous out there.⁵⁶
You'll ward off painful spells while alive,⁵⁷
but if you should die, you'll sing most beautifully.⁵⁸

Thgn. fr. sed. inc., 1229-1230:

It has already called me at home, a sea corpse
who, although dead, utters sounds with a living mouth.

⁵⁴ This term appears also in 475, 476, 499 of the same hymn.

⁵⁵ Here the carapace is indicated by the same generic term that could be used also for a λεπάς.

⁵⁶ This sentence, being sarcastic, could be applied to the λεπάς too.

⁵⁷ An apotropaic use of λεπάδες is likely. In Antiquity shell necklaces could drive out the evil eye. The shell was a sacred element since the Minoan Civilisation, in which the custom of strewing the floors and altar ledges of little shrines with sea-shells is attested by Evans 1921, 518-523, with figures 377-380. Also turtles were considered apotropaic animals, as show the verses of the Homeric Hymn.

⁵⁸ Transl. by Rayor 2004, 56.

Athenaeus, who quotes these latter verses (x 457^a), explains that they are a metaphorical allusion to the κόχλος, a big spiral-shaped shell, used in Antiquity like a trumpet for summoning people (vd. *supra*).

Between the λεπάς and the χέλυς there are, obviously, not only analogies, but also several important differences: in dimensions, for the turtle is bigger than the shellfish; in the consistency and in the taste of their meat; in the different sounds, type and context of their sonorous use. Moreover, even though Greeks must have known sea turtles, the verses of the Homeric Hymn show that the shell used for building a λύρα was mostly the terrestrial one (cf. *mountain turtle*). Thus, we can also imagine that the syntagma ἁ θαλασσία χέλυς⁵⁹ could astonish the audience, used to hearing the association of the instrument with the mountain χέλυς, with a sense of estrangement (ξενικόν).

The above-mentioned analogies and differences must have exalted the coexistence of the χέλυς and the λεπάς—the first a noble metaphor for the second—in the sympotic context. In fact, the metaphor we have studied could also have had a visual effect for the audience: Alcaeus sang the ode addressing the λεπάς, present on a fishplate (alive or already *dead*), with the accompaniment of the χέλυς. These visual elements must have made more vivid the metaphoric apostrophe.

Last but not least, we must compare the character and the cultural implications of the sounds given out by the χέλυς and the λεπάς respectively. The first is of noble descent, a symbol of aristocratic music because of its belonging to the noble family of the string instruments, and it is connected both with Hermes, who invented it, and with Apollo, who learned to play it; on the other hand, λεπάς, τελλίνη and more generally other little shellfish, are above all food (a relatively inexpensive food)⁶⁰ for banquets, only occasionally, and within children's games, becoming a source of sounds,⁶¹ and they could be included in the more popular category of wind instruments. The χέλυς (or φόρμιγξ or λύρα) produced a beautiful sound, a music that accompanies the divine voices of Hermes and Apollo;⁶² λεπάδες and τελλίναι, on the contrary, become for a few seconds the means of an unpleasant whistle made by children. In technical

59 Cf. θαλασσίνην σάλπιγγα in Archil. fr. 214 W.². In the Alcaeus poem, as De Martino-Vox 1996, 1273 underline, the sense of estrangement must have been more powerful than that of the sea σάλπιγξ in Archilochus.

60 Cf. Alex. fr. 15, 5 K.-A.

61 Moreover, the evocation of the αὐλός through the verb αὐλέω in Athenaeus, attributes to the “musical function” of the λεπάς a popular and inferior connotation, compared to that of the χέλυς. Cf. the words with which Pythagoras (in Iambll., *V.Pyth.* 111) considered the αὐλός as an instrument of violent sound, to be linked to popular feasts and to be without any nobility.

62 Cf. *h.Merc.* 53-55 (Hermes), 500-503 (Apollo).

terms, in order to produce a sound from the trivial *λεπάδες* or *τελλίνοι*, children had to blow very strongly, with many awkward attempts. The noble *χέλυσ*, on the contrary, required delicacy and a light use of fingers, without any effort, as Hermes explains in the *h.Merc.* 482-488:

If one who knows
skill and wisdom invites her, she'll teach
all sorts of things, speaking to delight the mind,
singing smoothly with gentle practice,
fleeing painful work. But if one who knows
nothing seeks her first with violence,
then she'll chatter in vain and off-key.⁶³

To conclude, many and interesting analogies and differences between the *λεπάδες* and the *χέλυσ* exalt their witty connection in the symposial Alcaeus poem. The poet, with his metaphorical apostrophe, aided by the evidence of the context, allows the guests not only to have fun, but also to learn something new about these two objects, since they just have eaten the shellfish, and they are listening to poet's verses with the accompaniment of the *χέλυσ* (noble metaphor for *λεπάς*). With his original and elegant wordplay, Alcaeus delights his *ἐταῖροι* and teaches them something new through an unexpected association of known elements. And, as is the case in every metaphor,⁶⁴ we can find in this union of pleasure and learning the purpose of Alcaeus' metaphorical apostrophe to the *λεπάς*.

Images on Fish-Plates

Here are several examples of ancient Greek fish-plates. Many scholars have described the imagery of the plates below,⁶⁵ but they have drawn attention only to the fish portrayed, without considering that shellfish have been painted on the same plates not only for aesthetic reasons, and because they could easily fill the empty spaces of the plates, but also because, in addition to the variety of fish, many different kinds of shellfish enriched the menu of the Greeks.

The *λεπάδες* and the *τελλίνοι* are portrayed in a similar way, but it is easy to distinguish them.

63 Transl. by Rayor 2004, 71.

64 Arist. *Rh.*, 1410^b.

65 Cf., above all, McPhee—Trendall 1987, section Apulian IVA, plates at pp. 50ff. Other fish-plates are described in Zindel 1998 and in Riccardi 2003.

Fish-Plates with λεπάδες⁶⁶

FIGURE A

Apulian red-figured fish-plate. Painter of Karlsruhe (attributed to). ca. 340-320 BC. Berlin, Altes Museum (Antikensammlung), glass case XXIII (Tarent), n° 7 (vases from an Apulian tomb). N.I. 1984.56. Cf. Zindel 1998, 84-85.

[picture from <http://commons.wikimedia.org>]



FIGURE B

Apulian red-figured fish-plate. Painter of Karlsruhe (attributed to). ca. 340-320 BC. Berlin, Altes Museum (Antikensammlung), glass case XXIII (Tarent), n° 7 (vases from an Apulian tomb). N.I. 1984.57.

[picture from <http://commons.wikimedia.org>]



FIGURE C

Apulian red-figured fish-plate. Painter of Karlsruhe (attributed to). ca. 340-320 BC. Berlin, Altes Museum (Antikensammlung), glass case XXIII (Tarent), n° 7 (vases from an Apulian tomb). N.I. AM 23.7.22.

[picture from <http://commons.wikimedia.org>]

66 The λεπάδες were known, and eaten, also by Minoans. Among the contents of the West Temple Repository in the Palace of Minos, we can also see a moulded terra-cotta relief in the shape of a λεπάς, represented right next to a crab. Cf. Evans 1921, 521, fig. 380.



FIGURE D *Apulian red-figured fish-plate, from Fasano (Brindisi-Italy). Painter of Karlsruhe (attributed to). ca. 340-320 BC. London, British Museum, location G73/14. N.I. 1856, 1226. 102. Cf. McPhee-Trendall 1987, IVA/133, 129. [picture from www.britishmuseum.org]*

Fish-Plates with τελλίνοι



FIGURE E *Apulian red-figured fish-plate, from Ruvo di Puglia (Bari-Italy). IV cent. BC. Museo Nazionale Archeologico Jatta. Room 11, N.I. 949. [pictures E) and F) have been graciously permitted by the Superintendence for Archaeological Heritage of Puglia].*



FIGURE F *Apulian red-figured fish-plate, from Ruvo di Puglia (Bari-Italy). IV cent. BC. Museo Nazionale Archeologico Jatta. Room II, n.1. 588.*

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Iambi in Sparta

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Abstract

Several sources attest that at the Spartan festival of the Gymnopaidia three choruses sang a song in iambic trimeters with skoptic content; Alcman also composed some iambic poems to be performed in the symposium. This demonstrates that iambic poetry was not unknown in Sparta, as is normally believed, and may be connected to the more general dynamics of praise and blame, which were very important in Sparta, especially in local symposia.

Keywords

Iambus – iambi – Sparta – Alcman – symposium – Gymnopaidiai

Iambi at the Gymnopaidiai

In the multi-faceted and variegated panorama of Spartan festivals the Gymnopaidiai played a primary role.¹ They were celebrated in summer in honour of Apollo and saw as protagonists Spartan young men who had to face an endurance test before the eyes of the whole citizenry: they had to dance naked in broad daylight a slow dance called *gymnopaidiké*.² The musical program involved performances of paeans in honour of Apollo Pythaeus,³ but also

1 On the Gymnopaidiai cf. Wade-Gery 1949, 79-81; Brelich 1969; Pettersson 1992, 42-56; Sergent 1993, 161-178; Richer 2005, 237-262; Ducat 2006, 265-274.

2 Plat. *Leg.* 1, 633c and schol. *ad loc.*; Luc. *Salt.* 10-12; Aristoxenos (fr. 103 Wehrli = Athen. 14, 630 c) said that it was characterized by τὸ βαρὺ καὶ σεμνόν.

3 Sosib. *FGrHist* 595 F 5.

aulodic nomoi and elegies.⁴ Many sources attest that during the Gymnopaidiai there was the commemoration of the fallen at Thyrea. This battle was fought in 546 BC by the Spartans and the Argives for the control of the Thyreatid, a region located at the borders between Argolid and Laconia, and was won by the Spartans.⁵ Elegies with a gloomy character were possibly connected to such a commemoration, and unlike pieces in the Ionian monodic mode, they were performed by choruses.⁶

Choruses, in fact, were the main attraction of the festival and they could also assume the form of the *trichoria*, a typical Spartan practice which saw three choruses made up of *paides*, *andres* and *gerontes* singing traditional songs in turn.⁷ A passage in Pollux's *Onomasticon* (4.107 = Tyrt. test. 15 Tarditi) credits Tyrtaeus with being the inventor of the *trichoria*. He is normally associated with elegy, so that the possibility that the three choruses also performed elegiac pieces cannot be excluded.⁸

The text of the song commonly sung by the *trichoria* is reported by Plutarch (*Lyc.* 21.1-4) and consists of three iambic trimeters, each exemplifying the competitive stance of each age category;⁹ they attest to the possibility that in Sparta poetic genres with certain metrical characteristics, such as iambus, which in other contexts are used for monodic song, may have been performed by choruses.

4 Cf. Cordano 2004, 313-314; Nobili 2011, 26-48 and 2016.

5 Sosib. *FGrHist* 595 F 5; *Anecdota graeca* 1 p. 32 Bekker. *Suda* and *Phot. Lex.* s.v. γυμνοπαΐδια. Cf. also *Et. Magn.* s.v. γυμνοπαΐδια.

6 Nobili 2011.

7 *Plut. Lyc.* 21 (= 870 PMG). Cf. also *Xen. Hell.* 6.4.16; Sosib. *FGrHist.* 595 F 5; *Plut. Apopht. Lac.* 238a-b; *Laud. ips.* 544e; *Schol. Plat. Leg.* 1.633a; *Lib. Or.* 64.17. The Laconian historian Sosibius (*FGrHist* 595 F 5) attests that the three choruses sang musical pieces of various kinds, such as the paeans of Dionysodotos and the *asmata* of Alcman and Thaletas. The passage is probably mutilated, since the reference to the third (right) chorus of *gerontes* is lacking, but there is general agreement that a reference to the *trichoria* is implied: cf. Bölte 1929, 130-132; Pettersson 1992, 43; Sergent 1993; Richer 2005, 244-248, and 2012, 395-402; Ducat 2006, 268-271. On the contrary, Kennell 1995, 68-69 thinks that the *trichoria* was not connected to the Gymnopaidia, where only the two choruses mentioned by Sosibius sang.

8 The elegiac poet Sacadas composed a *nomos trimeles*, whose characteristics are rather obscure but which may have been intended for performance by the three choruses of the Gymnopaidiai: cf. Nobili, forthcoming.

9 The text is reported also by *Plut. Apopht. Lac.* 238a-b and with minor changes by *Plut. Laud. ips.* 544e; *Schol. Plat. Leg.* 633a.

Ἡ δὲ περὶ τὰς ψῆδὰς καὶ τὰ μέλη παιδευσίς οὐχ ἦττον ἐσπουδάζετο τῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις εὐζηλίας καὶ καθαριότητος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μέλη κέντρον εἶχεν ἐγερτικὸν θυμοῦ καὶ παραστατικὸν ὀρμῆς ἐνθουσιώδους καὶ πραγματικῆς, καὶ ἡ λέξις ἦν ἀφελὴς καὶ ἄθρυπτος ἐπὶ πράγμασι σεμνοῖς καὶ ἡθοιοῖς. ἔπαινοι γὰρ ἦσαν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τῶν τεθνηκότων ὑπὲρ τῆς Σπάρτης εὐδαιμονιζομένων, καὶ ψόγοι τῶν τρεσάντων, ὡς ἀλγεινὸν καὶ κακοδαίμονα βιούντων βίον, ἐπαγγελία τε καὶ μεγαλαυχία πρὸς ἀρετὴν πρέπουσα ταῖς ἡλικίαις· ὧν ἕνεκα δείγματος οὐ χειρόν ἐστιν ἐν τι προενέγκασθαι. τριῶν γὰρ χορῶν κατὰ τὰς τρεῖς ἡλικίας συνισταμένων ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς, ὁ μὲν τῶν γερόντων ἀρχόμενος ᾄδεν·

Ἄμμες πόκ' ἡμεῖς ἄλκιμοι νεανίαι.¹⁰

ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων ἀμειβόμενος ἔλεγεν·

Ἄμμες δέ γ' εἰμέν· αἱ δὲ λῆς, αὐγάσδεο.

ὁ δὲ τρίτος ὁ τῶν παίδων·

Ἄμμες δέ γ' ἐσσόμεσθα πολλῷ κάρρονες.

Nor was their training in music and poetry any less serious a concern than the emulous purity of their speech, nay, their very songs had a stimulus that roused the spirit and awoke enthusiastic and effectual effort; the style of them was simple and unaffected, and their themes were serious and edifying. They were for the most part praises of men who had died for Sparta, calling them blessed and happy; censure of men who had played the coward, picturing their grievous and ill-starred life; and such promises and boasts of valour as befitted the different ages. Of the last, it may not be amiss to cite one, by way of illustration. They had three choirs at their festivals, corresponding to the three ages, and the choir of old men would sing first:

"We once did deeds of prowess and were strong young men."

Then the choir of young men would respond:

"We are so now, and if you wish, behold and see."

And then the third choir, that of the boys, would sing:

"We shall be something mightier men by far than both."

[transl. B. Perrin]

It is not only the metre that suggests that we are here dealing with iambs, but also the context. The connection with the *Gymnopaideiai* is not explicitly declared, but Plutarch is talking more generally about the Spartan practice of employing their songs for the typical dynamics of praise and blame; Spartans in fact praised those who behaved bravely in war and condemned those who

10 The incipit recalls a Laconian *carmen popolare*: Plut. *Cons. Ap.* 110b-c (Bergk).

behaved in a cowardly manner. The three choruses, divided according to age, rapidly reply to each other, commenting on their own qualities in opposition to those of the other groups, in a manner which recalls skoptic poetry. The old men evoke the season of their youth, the adults boast about their present strength and the boys declare that they will be even stronger than their fathers.

The presence of these three famous iambs at a major festival such as the Gymnopaïdiai cannot be an isolated case and raises the question whether this genre was known and practised in Sparta. Iambus, in fact, is normally considered an Ionian cultural phenomenon, rooted in the institution of the symposium and an expression of the voice of some poets who felt free to criticize aspects of the society they lived in. Although in different forms, the above-mentioned passage and others that we shall examine demonstrate that blame was a phenomenon deeply rooted in Spartan society, and it is no surprise that it could occasionally assume poetic forms. Moreover, the example of Tyrtaeus shows that another genre normally connected to the Ionian region, such as elegy, could also be performed in Sparta with different purposes and performance characteristics.

We must also consider that iambus, as Rotstein has recently shown, was a very ductile genre and could be adapted to different contexts, including public festivals and the religious sphere.¹¹ The choral form of this Spartan iambus need not seem surprising, since sung and recited versions are attested for most archaic lyric genres, including Ionian iambus;¹² but its cultic and public profile differed from that of the monodic and sympotic iambus attested in Ionian areas. Nonetheless, several other genres assumed specific characters in Dorian regions: forms of threnodic and choral elegies are attested in Laconia despite their absence in other areas;¹³ dithyramps could be performed by female choruses whereas they are elsewhere a prerogative of male choruses.¹⁴ In the hybrid and shifting world of archaic literary genres this once again confirms that local particularities were maintained in more conservative areas.

Moreover, in other Dorian regions, mainly in Sicily, there existed some forms of iambs intended for public performance: Aristoxenus of Selinus, according to a quotation from Epicharmus' *Logos and Logina* in Haephestion's *Enchiridion* (8.2-3 p. 25.17-20 Consbruch = Epicharm. fr. 88 Kaibel), possibly composed

11 Rotstein 2010, 229-279.

12 Bartol 1993, 61-65; Rotstein 2010, 229-252. On sung elegies cf. Bowie 1986, 14; Bartol 1993, 46-51; Aloni – Iannucci 2007, 27-28; Aloni 2009, 170.

13 Nobili 2011 and 2016.

14 E.g. Bacchylides' dithyramb *Idas* (20 Snell-Maehler), on which see Maehler 1997, 261-267; D'Alessio 2013; Nobili 2013a, 31-39.

choral iambi which inspired his successor Epicharmus.¹⁵ Other sources testify to the existence of some forms of Dorian farce which may represent the antecedents of comedy¹⁶ and may be assimilated to iambus: Athenaeus (5.181c = Timaeus *FrGrHist.* 566 F 140) says that at Syracuse there were some choruses called *iambistai*, to be compared to the Athenian dithyrambic choruses. Elsewhere (14.621d-f) he adds the evidence provided by the Spartan historian and antiquarian Sosibius, who lived in the third century BC and reported precious information concerning rites and customs of previous times. He affirms that there existed in Sparta a tradition of comic performances, whose protagonists were a type of actor known as *dikelistai*. In other places similar performers were called with different names: the Sikyonoi called them *phallophoroi*, others *autokabdaloi*.¹⁷ According to the historian Semos of Delos, the *autokabdaloi* also took the name of “iambi”, as did the songs they recited.¹⁸

Alcman's Iambi

Apart from the song performed at the Gymnopaïdiai, more iambic poems are attested in Sparta, even in sympotic settings. At least two poems by Alcman are in iambic catalectic trimeters and deal with some typical sympotic themes, like food and how to decorate the dining room.¹⁹ Fr. 11 Calame (= PMG 19) is quoted by Athenaeus, who places it in the fifth book of Alcman's edition:

κλίναι μὲν ἑπτὰ καὶ τόσαι τραπέσδαι
μακωνιᾶν ἄρτων ἐπιστεφοῖσαι
λίνω τε σασάμω τε κῆν πελίχναις.
†πεδεστέ† χρυσοκόλλα.

15 Cf. West 1974, 34-37; Brown 1977, 37-38; Degani 1987, 1005; Rotstein 2010, 213-221. Holford-Strevens 2009 actually tries to deny the existence of any Aristoxenos of Selinus, claiming that there is a confusion in the source with Aristoxenus the Musician.

16 They are often mentioned among the antecedents of Attic drama; see Breitholtz 1960, 114-124; Pickard-Cambridge 1962, 134-144; David 1989, 7-17; Rusten 2006, 41.

17 See also Hesych: s.v. δεικλισταί; Suid. s.v. Σωσίβιος (= *FrGrHist* 595 F1); Plut. Ages. 21.4 607d. On this body of evidence cf. West 1974, 35-37; Brown 1977, 31-38; Rotstein 2010, 266-276.

18 Athen. 14.622b-c (= Semus *FrGrHist* 396 F 24).

19 Alcman's production in iambi was connected by Bergk to a glossa in Hesychius (x 2939 κλεψιάμβοι) mentioning κλεψιάμβοι (stolen iambi) as a type of Alcmanic songs (vd. Bergk 1882⁴ III 61; Cuzzotti 2009). But the meaning of the entry is uncertain, and the term κλεψιάμβοι is considered by some scholars as a synonym of *magadis*, an instrument which accompanied Alcman's songs (Calame 1983, xxiii-xxiv; Lorenzoni 2010).

Seven couches and as many table laden with poppy-seeds loaves and linseed and sesame, and chrysocolla²⁰ in (full?) bowls. [transl. Campbell]

This fragment deals with the preparation of a banquet, in which seven *klinai* and tables are laid out,²¹ along with the necessary food. It clearly recalls Xenophanes' elegy 1 W, with its accurate description of the preparation of the location, the food and the prescriptions for the ideal banquet. There can be no doubt that the present fragment, like Xenophanes' elegy, was meant to be performed at a banquet, perhaps at the beginning, when the preparations were still in course.²² To be connected with this fragment for the metre and content is fr. 130 Calame (= PMG 96) and there are grounds for arguing that they were part of the same poem:

ἤδη παρεξεί πυάνιον τε πολτὸν
χίδρον τε λευκὸν κηρίναν τ' ὀπώραν.

Soon he will provide bean porridge and white frumenty and the waxen harvest.²³

[transl. Campbell]

These two passages best represent Alcman's poems in iambic trimeters dealing with sympotic themes; although they do not have skoptic or insulting character, they match with a well attested branch of iambic poetry, which deals with metasymphotic themes and food. The most famous examples come from

20 The chrysocolla is a dish made of honey and linseed.

21 On the practice of reclining at symposium in Sparta see Nafissi 1991, 178-180.

22 Quattrocelli 2002, 22-23. Calame 1983, 534-535, suggests that the fragment was intended to be performed at a more large-scale banquet, a ritual meal organized at some religious festivals and called χορίς (attested on the occasion of the Hyacinthia or the Tithenida). Nonetheless, the food served at the Hyacinthia and described by Athenaeus (4.138b-143a) does not coincide with that of our fragments (see Pettersson 1992: 14-179; see also the criticisms of Calame's view expressed by Nafissi 1991, 215-216). However, it is interesting to note that Alcman's poetry was performed at this festival: P.Oxy. 2506, fr. 1, col. 11 (=Alcman. test. 5.1-18 Calame) preserves a fragment from a work of Alcman entitled *Hyacinthia* (cf. Calame 2001 [1977], 184-185.)

23 The πυάνιον was a mixture of seeds (beans in this case) boiled in raisin-syrup, from which the Athenian festival of the Pyanopsiai also took its name (see Chirassi Colombo 1979; Parker 2005, 208-210); the χίδρον are boiled wheaten-grains and the κηρίναν ὀπώραν means honey. Such an emphasis on cooked cereals is in line with the Greek tendency to consider them as the fundamental basis of civilized banquets (Vernant 1979, 58-63).

Hipponax's work, where the food plays a crucial parodic and comic role.²⁴ The same irony can be envisaged in some of Alcman's fragments, for example 9 Calame (PMG 17), where the poet defines himself as a *παμφάγος* (glutton),²⁵ or 12 Calame (=PMG 20), in iambic dimeters,²⁶ where a reflection on the changing of the seasons gives way to a humorous *pointe* about the lack of food in the spring.

Another fragment in iambic trimeters is fr. 86 Calame (= PMG 59a), with erotic content.

Ἔρωσ με δηῦτε Κύπριδος φέκατι.
γλυκὺς κατεΐβων καρδίαν ἰαίνει.

At the command of the Cyprian Eros once again
pours sweetly down and warms my heart.

According to Athenaeus, who quotes the passage and cites the opinions by Archytas and Chamaeleon, Alcman was the first to introduce erotic songs with licentious content.²⁷ The lines following the quotation can be expected to have been more obscene, in accordance with iambic practice, something that is unsurprising given that, even in this case, the context must have been sympotic.²⁸

Spartan Symposium and the Politics of Blame

As the previous examples confirm, iambs represented an important aspect of Alcman's production and were part of a broader corpus of monodic and sympotic songs, which existed side by side with his more famous choral songs.²⁹ The importance of symposium in archaic Sparta is confirmed by

24 Cfr. Hippon. frs. 8, 26, 26a, 29a, 58, 124, 125, 128 West; Sem. frs. 23, 24, 30 West.

25 On this fragment see Nannini 1988, 19-35; Nafissi 1991, 206-214; Quattrocelli 2002, 27-30. Pizzoccaro 1990 gives a metaphorical interpretation.

26 More fragments in iambic dimeters are attested in Alcman's corpus, but they are very short and do not give clues about the themes they treat, nor whether they were associated with other lyric metres: 138, 155, 161 Calame (= PMG 37b, 110, 121). Only 138 mentions an aulodic accompaniment to the poet's song, which is in accordance with sympotic poetry.

27 Ath. 13.600f: Ἀρχύτας δ' ὁ ἁρμονικός, ὥς φησι Χαμαιλέων, Ἀλκμᾶνα γεγονέναι τῶν ἐρωτικῶν μελῶν ἡγεμόνα καὶ ἐκδοῦναι πρῶτον μέλος ἀκόλαστον.

28 Quattrocelli 2002, 31-32.

29 Quattrocelli 2002; Carey 2011.

several Laconian ceramics from the seventh to the sixth century BC which depict komast dancers in sympotic settings. Such iconographic images are common throughout the Greek world of this time, and attest to the penetration of sympotic practices into everyday life and culture.

The same conclusions must be drawn for Spartan society.³⁰ Vases and drinking cups depicting komasts, banqueters and dancers with all the attributes and the ornaments typical of sympotic scenes, such as drinking vessels, grapes and *aulos* players, attest that the symposium was a well-established institution in Spartan society of the Classical period and integrated into the system of the *syssitia*.³¹ Komasts of this kind, with their fat bellies and bottoms, evident phallos and in some cases even masks,³² may well represent the iconographic counterpart of those *dikelistai* mentioned by Sosibius. Spartan sympotic spectacles could occasionally take the form of trivial mockery: Plutarch says that it was common custom for Spartan *homoioi* to introduce drunken helots, who behaved in a messy and humiliating way, into the *syssitia* in order to show young men the risks of drunkenness and make fun of their inferiors.³³

Spartan *syssitia* were not the austere and military places often depicted in some sources: there was room for *eros* and poetry, since a large part of the poetry of Alcman, Tyrtaeus and Terpander was composed to be performed during the Spartan common meals.³⁴ Testimonies about the re-use of Tyrtaeus' poetry confirm that banquets continued to host musical performances even after the Classical age,³⁵ and elegy 27 W (= 90 Leurini) by Ion of Chios was a sympotic ode possibly dedicated to the Spartan king Archidamos.³⁶ Allusions to a convivial atmosphere are also present in the first lines of Ibycus' fr. S166, for a Spartan victor,³⁷ so that banquets could also represent a favorite setting

30 Smith 1995 and 2000, 315-317.

31 See for example Louvre E 667 (Stibbe n. 13, Pipili n. 194); Louvre E 672 (Stibbe n. 33, Pipili n. 199); Bruxelles Mus. Royaux R 401 (Stibbe n. 192, Pipili n. 200); Pratica di Mare E 1986 (Stibbe n. 19). For complete surveys see Pipili 1987, 71-75 and 1995, 82-96; Nafissi 1991, 212-224; Powell 1998; Quattrocelli 2008.

32 Masks have been found in the temple of Artemis Orthia: cf. Dickins 1929, 173, pl. XLVII-LXII; Carter 1987; David 1989, 11-12. See also Hesych. s.v. βρωδάλιχα, βρωλλιχισταί.

33 Plut. *Lyc.* 28.8-9. See David 1989, 6-7; Nafissi 1991, 189-191.

34 Cf. Vetta 1983, LIII-LIV; Nannini 1988, 19-56; Nafissi 1991, 173-226; Quattrocelli 2002.

35 Lycurg. *Leocr.* 106-107; Philochorus *FGHist* 328 F 216 (=Athen. 14, 630f). Cf. Bowie 1986, 15-16; D'Alessio 2009, 150-156.

36 Cf. Jacoby 1947, 7-9; Huxley 1965, 31-33; Bartol 2000; Nobili 2012, 177-179.

37 Barron 1984; Wilkinson 2013, 97-98.

for the performance of epinician odes composed for Spartan athletes, fr. 34 Poltera, for example.³⁸

Syssitia were also the places dedicated to the dynamics of praise and blame and in this context they could also host iambic poetry. The aristocratic and egalitarian Spartan society was, in fact, deeply concerned with praise and blame, the former as a means to promote courage and military valour, the latter as a form of reproach towards cowardly acts and weakness. No wonder that a kind of poetry specifically connected with blame, like iambus, found its place among the variegated panorama of Spartan musical performances. Blame had a proper educative function and was directed at the different age classes of the society, as we have seen in the first iambic poem: the old, the young and women, too.

According to Plutarch (*Lyc.* 25.1-2), old people spent most of their time in the *leschai*, the common buildings where citizens and strangers ate and discussed, and where the *syssitia* were also arranged.³⁹ There they praised and blamed the actions of their fellow citizens: ἀλλὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἦν τῆς τοιαύτης διατριβῆς ἔργον ἐπαινεῖν τι τῶν καλῶν, ἢ τῶν αἰσχυρῶν ψέγειν, μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ γέλωτος, ἐλαφρῶς ὑποφέροντος εἰς νουθεσίαν καὶ διόρθωσιν ('they were chiefly occupied there in praising some noble action or censuring some base one, with jesting and laughter which made the path to instruction and correction easy and natural'). Blame thus had an important educative function, but also had a humorous character, which made criticism easier accept. These are the typical characteristics of iambic poetry: a sympotic setting, blame and laughter. As Plutarch later explains, Sparta was not an austere city but a place where laughter had a very important role to play, especially for the education of young people; Lycurgus even erected a statue of Laughter, which became the object of a cult.⁴⁰

Ψόγος and γέλως thus were two essential elements of Spartan banquets; in another passage (12.4) Plutarch states that at the common meals the young listened to the adults' conversations and learnt how to criticize their friends. Εἰς δὲ τὰ συσσίτια καὶ παῖδες ἐφοίτων, ὥσπερ εἰς διδασκαλεῖα σωφροσύνης ἀγόμενοι, καὶ λόγων ἠκροῶντο πολιτικῶν καὶ παιδευτὰς ἐλευθερίας ἐώρων, αὐτοὶ τε παίζειν εἰθίζοντο καὶ σκώπτειν ἄνεν βωμολοχίας καὶ σκωπτόμενοι μὴ δυσχεραίνειν. σφόδρα γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ τοῦτο Λακωνικὸν εἶναι, σκώμματος ἀνέχεσθαι· μὴ φέροντα δὲ ἐξὴν παραιτεῖσθαι, καὶ ὁ σκώπτων ἐπέπαυτο ('Boys also used to come to these public messes, as if they were attending schools of sobriety; there they would listen

38 Nobili 2012 and 2013b.

39 Nafissi 1991, 93-94 and 318-327.

40 Plut. *Lyc.* 25.2 and *Cleom.* 9.1. See David 1989; Richer 2012, 48-68.

to political discussions and see instructive models of liberal breeding. There they themselves also became accustomed to sport and jest without displeasure. Indeed, it seems to have been especially characteristic of a Spartan to endure jesting; but if anyone could not bear up under it, he had only to ask it, and the jester ceased'). Contests of mockeries and jests were part of education and served to detect behavioural elements useful for future leadership.⁴¹

Girls were also given the important function of praising and criticizing their peers: at religious festivals they paraded naked before the eyes of the whole citizenship and pronounced mockeries (σκώμματα) or lyric praises (ἐγκώμια μετ' ᾧδῆς) of the boys.⁴² The mockeries were pronounced (λέγουσαι), not sung like the ἐγκώμια, and this is hardly unexpected, if we consider the several attestations of recited iambs.

The importance attributed by the Spartans to the politics of blame as an instrument for education represents the ideal background for the development of iambic poetry in at least two forms: a choral form of iambus, performed in ritual contexts and festivals (which finds counterparts in other Dorian areas), and a monodic form, composed for the symposium, as in Ionian areas. This once again testifies to the adaptability of the genre which could change the mode and occasion of performance in accordance with the different local adaptations.

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41 Plut. *Lyc.* 17.1. See David 1989, 3-7.

42 Plut. *Lyc.* 14.2-3: ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ σκώμματα λέγουσαι πρὸς ἕκαστον εὐχρήστως ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων· καὶ πάλιν εἰς τοὺς ἀξίους αὐτῶν ἐγκώμια μετ' ᾧδῆς πεποιημένα διεξιοῦσαι, φιλοτιμίαν πολλὴν καὶ ζῆλον ἐνεποιοῦν τοῖς νεανίσκοις. ὁ γὰρ ἐγκωμισθεὶς ἐπ' ἀνδραγαθίᾳ καὶ κλεινὸς ἐν ταῖς παρθέναις γεγυνώς ἀπῆει μεγαλυνόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπαίνων· αἱ δὲ μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ σκωμμάτων δῆξεις οὐδὲν ἀμβλύτεροι τῶν μετὰ σπουδῆς νοουετημάτων ἦσαν, ἅτε δὴ πρὸς τὴν θέαν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις καὶ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν γερόντων συμπορευομένων.

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GREEK AND ROMAN MUSICAL STUDIES 2 (2014) 23-49

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The Papyrus from the ‘Musician’s Tomb’ in Daphne: MII 7449, 8517-8523 (Archaeological Museum of Piraeus)

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Abstract

In Section 1 Athena Alexopoulou presents the imaging documentation techniques and the non-destructive investigation methodology applied to the papyrus-fragments from the “Musician’s Tomb” in Daphne (MII 7449, 8517-8523). They were used to learn more about the script rescued on the papyrus, and to find ways of improving its legibility. The high resolution and optical quality of the photomacrographs enables the detection of lines containing letter-sequences and syllables on the surface and underneath, improves readability and allows further philological interpretation. In Section 2 Ioanna Karamanou edits the legible papyrus-fragments of MII 8517, 8520, 8521, which were not edited in Martin West’s edition (*GRMS* 1, 2013), offering an overview of the legible material and exploring its literary character. Having detected more readings suggestive of poetic words, she argues that they are consistent with and may supplement those of Prof. West’s edition, reinforcing the likelihood that the earliest Greek papyrus employed poetic diction.

Keywords

earliest Greek papyrus – “Musician’s Tomb” – Daphne tombs – imaging documentation – non-destructive methodology – photomacrography – high resolution – Greek literary papyri – Ionic alphabet

Section 1. Techniques Applied for Imaging Documentation

Athena A. Alexopoulou

Introduction

The presence of a papyrus roll among the findings of tomb II that came to light during an emergency excavation in Daphne, Odos Olgas 53, Athens, was considered from the beginning as a very important finding.¹ The tomb, also referred to as 'The Musician's Tomb' and dated in 430/425 BC,² contained, among other things, parts of musical instruments, a writing-case, an ink pot, a chisel, a stylus and knuckle-bones, indications that the deceased was a musician. The Daphne papyrus comprised several leaves, pasted together as an amorphous mass due to the very humid environment and a white material resembling plaster which had destroyed most of the upper part of it. Although the papyrus at first was considered completely destroyed and unexploitable,³ it and the polyptychon tablets have special significance, since they are the oldest Greek text examples so far found in Greek territory, almost a century older than the famous Derveni papyrus.

However, after fixation of the papyrus mass, the conservator A.Glinos, who was put in charge of the conservation project at the time, carefully separated legible fragments from the formless mass,⁴ trying at the same time to separate them from each other when that was possible. He managed to salvage several medium-sized papyrus pieces (max. 3 × 4 cm) and a plethora of small fragments bearing one, two or no letters at all. The detached fragments were attached to a silk fabric between two sheets of glass 0.5 cm apart, keeping joins where possible, but not always preserving their original relative positions. Consequently no continuous text appears anywhere. Eight such frames with code numbers MΠ 7449, MΠ 8517-8523, containing innumerable tiny fragments are now kept at the Archaeological Museum of Piraeus. The frames are shown in Figures 1-8. The detailed story of the excavation, and especially the account of the condition of the papyrus on its discovery and its restoration at

1 To Βήμα, 26 May 1981.

2 Simon-Wehgartner 2013, 64, C.Terzes, 2013 GRMS 1 (2013) 12, p. 126 "The Daphne Harp".

3 To Βήμα, 24 September 2006; NatMus BE 29/1981, 19/20 May 1981. Report of K.Asimenos "[...] Επρόκειτο πράγματι για πάπυρο τελείως αποσπασμένο που είχε μετατραπεί σε άμορφη μάζα. Από τον πάπυρο ήταν σε σχετικά καλύτερη κατάσταση μόνο ένα μικρό κομμάτι διαστάσεων 3×4cm, στο οποίο φαινόταν γραφή".

4 NatMusBE29/1981, 23 July 1981 A.Glinos Report "[...] Όσα από τα σπαράγματα διασώθηκαν γίνεται καθημερινώς προσπάθεια αποκολλήσεώς τους γιατί πολλά από αυτά είναι δύο και τρία μαζί». "[...] Ο αγώνας για τη διάσωση και του μικρότερου τεμαχίου παπύρου που μπορεί να διασωθεί μέχρι και το μεγαλύτερο συνεχίζεται".

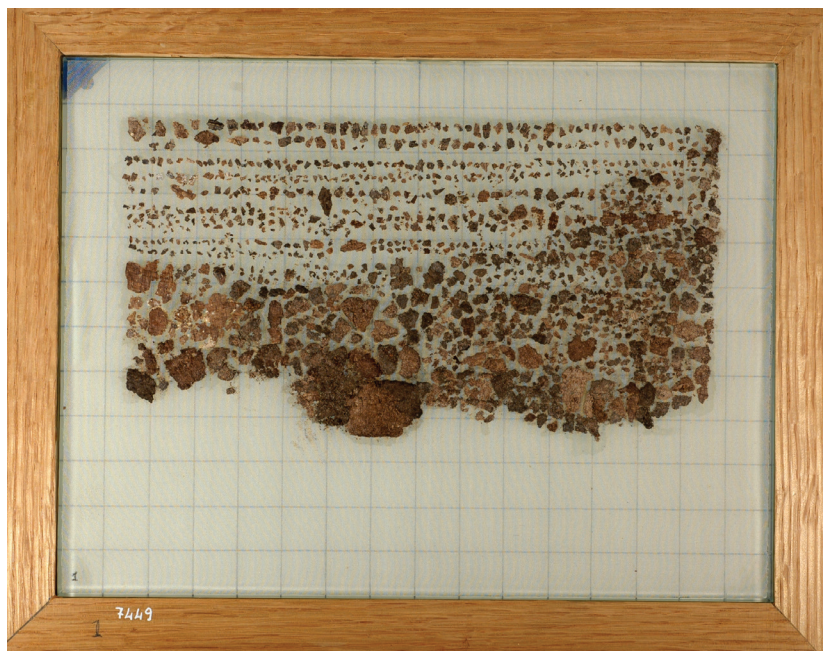


FIGURE 1 *MII 7449 (Frame 1)*



FIGURE 2 *MII 8517 (Frame 2)*



FIGURE 3 *MΠ 8518 (Frame 3)*



FIGURE 4 *MΠ 8519 (Frame 4)*



FIGURE 5 *MII 8520 (Frame 5)*



FIGURE 6 *MII 8521 (Frame 6)*



FIGURE 7 *MI 8522 (Frame 7)*



FIGURE 8 *MI 8523 (Frame 8)*

the National Archaeological Museum in Athens has been presented in papers by E. Pöhlmann and A. Alexopoulou.⁵

Due to the significance of the findings, independent teams were established in which researchers and scientists of different specializations—philologists, musicologists, papyrologists, archaeologists, archeometrists, anthropologists and conservation scientists—took part, each one in his or her own field, to gain a global understanding of the objects. The imaging documentation and the thorough non-destructive investigation of the Daphne papyrus was assigned to the Laboratory of Physical Chemical Methods for Diagnosis and Documentation (LANDT), Department for Conservation of Antiquities and Works of Art, TEI of Athens. The main aim of this approach was to acquire more information about the script rescued on the papyrus than could be detected by the naked eye, and to collect elements which would enhance the investigation of the writing, improving its legibility and facilitating the detection of letters in the text.

Methodology for Imaging Documentation and Non-Destructive Investigation

The imaging documentation and non-destructive investigation of the papyrus was carried out in two phases. First, digital colour photography in the visible region of all the frames was carried out in order to document the condition of each frame and to provide appropriate reference photos (Figures 1-8). Selected areas were also recorded in detail and photographs in macro mode were acquired, in order to further enhance and record areas of interest, as it was very difficult to study the papyrus fragments as a whole, on account of their large number and small sizes. The instrumentation used in this step included a NIKON D70S of 6 MB resolution equipped with a micro NIKKOR 60 mm f/2.8D lens, tungsten lighting sources and a HOYA PL lens filter.

To improve the letters' readability and to reveal text hidden underneath and aspects that are not visible to the human eye, multispectral imaging was applied using visible and near infrared radiation. Multispectral imaging (MSI) allows the simultaneous collection of spectral and spatial information, which correspond to the reflectivity of a surface in 34 spectral bands within the range of the 420-1000nm with a 20nm step interval. These series of images—known as data cubes—can yield maximum information coming from layers at different depths, due to the penetration capability of the near infrared radiation through the superficial layers. It thus extends the text's readability.

⁵ Pöhlmann 2013 7-24, Alexopoulou and Kaminari 2013 25-60.

Representative examples of images acquired at the near infrared spectrum (1000nm) in macro mode are given in Figures 9-11. It is worth noting that letters written between the lines appear more clearly and in grey tones, a fact that is due to the permeation of text through layers of papyrus and the revelation of the information underneath. This confirms the opinion expressed by Prof. Martin West that the hypothesis that the papyrus contained musical notation is very doubtful.⁶

In addition, selected areas of the papyrus were examined by false colour infrared (Figure 12). This technique provides a sharper visualization of the original material because infrared radiation is less scattered by thin cloudy layers such as consolidants, glues etc. that often cover the original surface. Furthermore, colour infrared imaging can reveal different writing media as well as differentiate the script from elements pertaining to the condition of the object, e.g. scratches, deposits etc.

The instrumentation used for both approaches, infrared and false colour imaging, included the multispectral camera Mu.S.I.S HS by Forthphotonics (now DySIS) equipped with a 1/200 Progressive Scan CCD sensor providing images of 1600×1200 pixels (8 bits, 15 fps) and 34 selectable spectral bands in the range of 370-1000 nm. The camera came with a Schneider-Kreuznach Xenoplan 1.4/23 CCTV-lens and an extension ring to capture images in macro mode. Tungsten light sources (2X500 Watt) were used both to calibrate the imaging system and to illuminate the objects.

As images are difficult to interpret by the naked eye since they contain information from different layers and/or information that corresponds to different optical behaviour in the various wavelengths, multispectral imaging was followed by image analysis techniques in order to maximize the extraction of information. In the case of the Daphne papyrus, simple techniques, like image segmentation and image subtraction and the well-known PCA analysis were applied. The resulting images showed clearly distinguishable areas of text, the layers of the papyrus were better discriminated and letters that belong to the same sheet were better grouped.

These procedures were applied to selected papyrus fragments from three frames (MII 8517, MII 8520, MII 8523). The results of this preliminary study have been presented in previous papers.⁷

Professor Martin West has published in full his readings of two of them (MI 8520 frs. 1, 3-5, 8 and MII 8523) which were more promising, while

⁶ West 2013, 80.

⁷ Alexopoulou and Kaminari 2013, 31-32, Alexopoulou et al. 2013, 1242-1249.

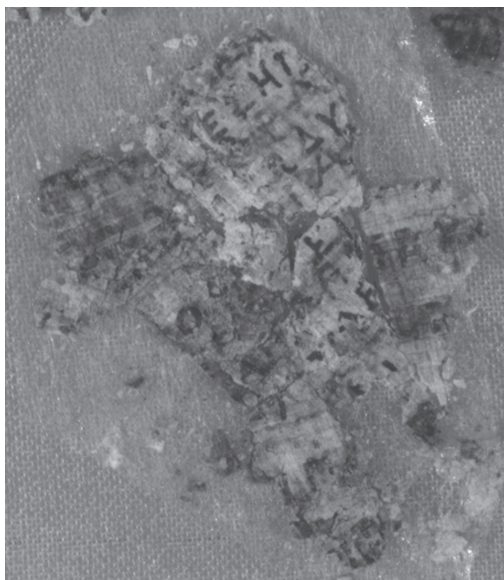


FIGURE 9 *MPI 8520 (Frame 5) papyrus fragment consisting of several smaller pieces, in the near infrared (1000nm). Surface letters and letters revealed from underlayers are observed*

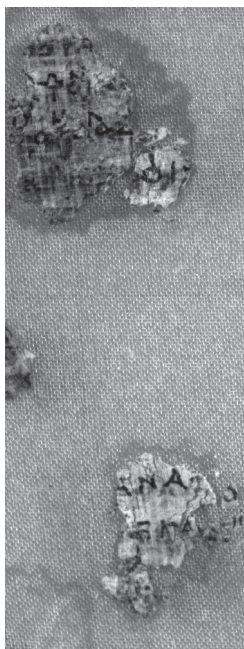


FIGURE 10 *MPI 8520 (Frame 5) papyrus fragments, in the near infrared (1000nm)*

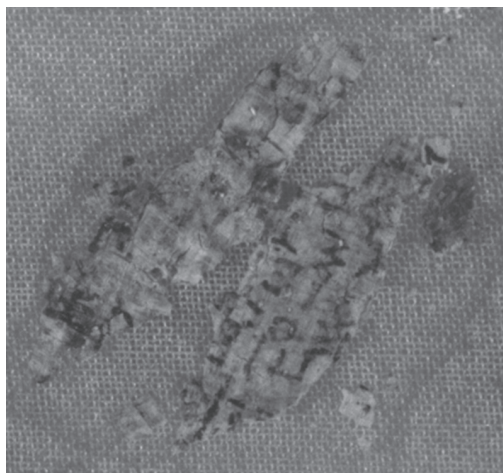


FIGURE 11 *MII 8520 (Frame 5) papyrus fragment, at near infrared 1000nm. Letters from different layers underneath are revealed due to the penetration capability of the radiation and the lack of consolidant on the piece*



FIGURE 12 *MII 8518 (Frame 3) detail in false colour infrared. Traces of many scattered letters from the papyrus mass are observed on the surface*

restricting himself to brief remarks about the others.⁸ Nevertheless in correspondence with the 26th Ephoreia in Piraeus, Prof. West mentions that he does not intend to conduct any further research on the rest of the fragments and agrees that Dr Ioanna Karamanou should try to detect more readings on them and publish her results (for which see Karamanou: Section 2, below) with the help of new photographs.

Thus, to complete the investigation regarding the papyrus an effort was made to acquire new digital photographs in macro mode in the visible spectrum, using a super high resolution camera in order to collect the maximum readable information of fragmentary remnants of words and letters on the papyrus fragments which at first, observed by naked eye, seem to be less rewarding than the readings of ΜΠ 8520 and 8523. These new results are presented below.

To maximize the visibility of the letters and the readability of the text appearing in the surface layer a newly developed digital photographic apparatus, Nikon D800, has been used. The camera employs a Nikon FX-format CMOS sensor with 36.3 effective megapixels resolution which offers the possibility of enlarging the images to the size of A1 poster prints (59.4×84.1 cm/ 23.4×33.1 in.) at 200 dpi, or of cropping aggressively to reach the desired area, all without sacrificing the detail and tonal range of the original. Nikon D800 is also equipped with an optical low-pass filter located in front of the image sensor to reduce false colour and moiré of the image and thus optimize sharpness. Moiré occurs in scenes containing repetitive details, such as strong vertical lines as in the case of the papyrus surface under investigation. Furthermore, the multi-layer structure of the D800 low-pass filter uses layers of antireflective coating that have been optimized for the camera, contributing to sharper and clearer images.

The combination of the advantages of this technology with the use of the micro NIKKOR 60 mm f/2.8D lens to acquire images in macro mode (ratio of original size to image size of the object, namely magnification, is from 1:1 (1x) to 50:1 (50x)) allowing the acquisition of images showing tiny details in even the smallest fragments. Close-up photography (magnifications from 1:10 (0,1x) to 1:1 (1x)) and photomacrography⁹ are important elements in the documentation of archaeological objects, which have been significantly improved by the advent of digital photography.

⁸ West 2013, 79-85.

⁹ 'Photomacrography' is proposed by the AIC Guide to Digital Photography and Conservation Documentation (2011) to describe the photographic procedure used to acquire images in macro mode, instead of the old term 'macrophotography'.

The fact that the papyrus fragments were glued on silk fibre was critical for acquiring sharp images despite the extremely limited depth of the field that decreases dramatically with increasing magnification. To achieve images of maximum quality it is important that the sensor plane is perfectly parallel with the subject plane and that the camera is well secured to prevent it from moving. Thus, tungsten light sources (2X250 Watt) were used for illuminating the objects as these light sources provided adequate intensity for macro mode. In order to achieve uniform illumination, prevent camera shake and keep the camera properly positioned all processes were carried out on a copy stand with the light sources mounted on either side of the objects. All necessary instrumentation was transported from the Laboratory of Physical Chemical Methods for Diagnosis and Documentation, Department for Conservation of Antiquities and Works of Art, TEI of Athens and the documentation procedures were carried out *in situ* at the laboratories of the Archaeological Museum of Piraeus, Greece.

Figures 13-15 present photomacrographs of selected important parts of frames 2 (MII 8517) and 6 (MII 8521), where the examination by naked eye suggested that letters existed on the surface of the papyrus fragments. Because of the high resolution and optical quality of the acquired photomacrographs, the enlarged details of these parts, presented in Figures 16-18, not only enhanced the detection of letters, syllables and lines containing letter-sequences on the surface but also revealed traces of letters from lower layers. Unfortunately, the consolidant, the conservator used to fix the fragments, diminished the contrast and simultaneously increased the specular reflexion on the surface, despite the effort made to achieve the optimum conditions for photography. Nowadays, modern conceptions of documentation recommend that all procedures, including imaging and analysis, are completed before any conservation and restoration is attempted, on condition that the preservation state of the object allows it. In the second part of this article Dr. I. Karamanou offers an overview of this legible material and explores the possibly literary character of this papyrus-text.

Conclusions

The high resolution and optical quality of the acquired photomacrographs enables the detection of lines containing letter-sequences and syllables on the surface and underneath, improves the readability of the text and allows further philological interpretation of the papyrus, and thus contributes to the archaeological interpretation of the others findings from the Daphne tombs.

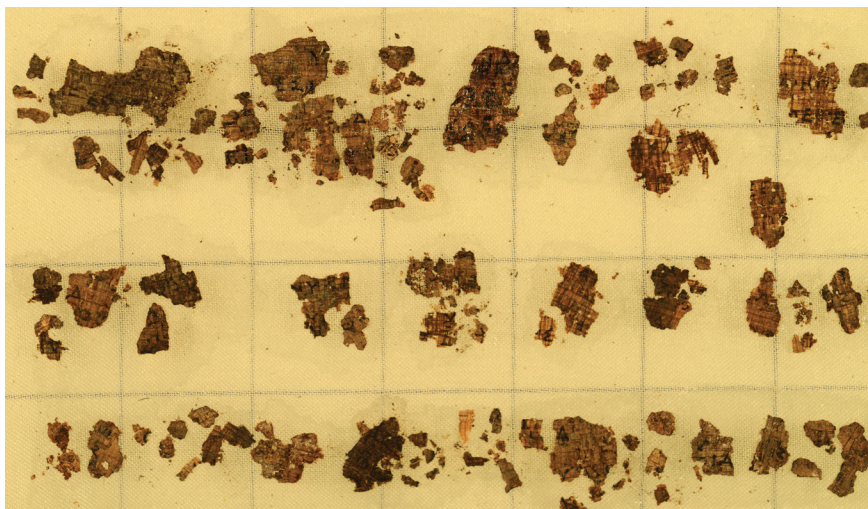


FIGURE 13 *MII 8517 (Frame 2) photomacrography of the upper left corner in the visible*

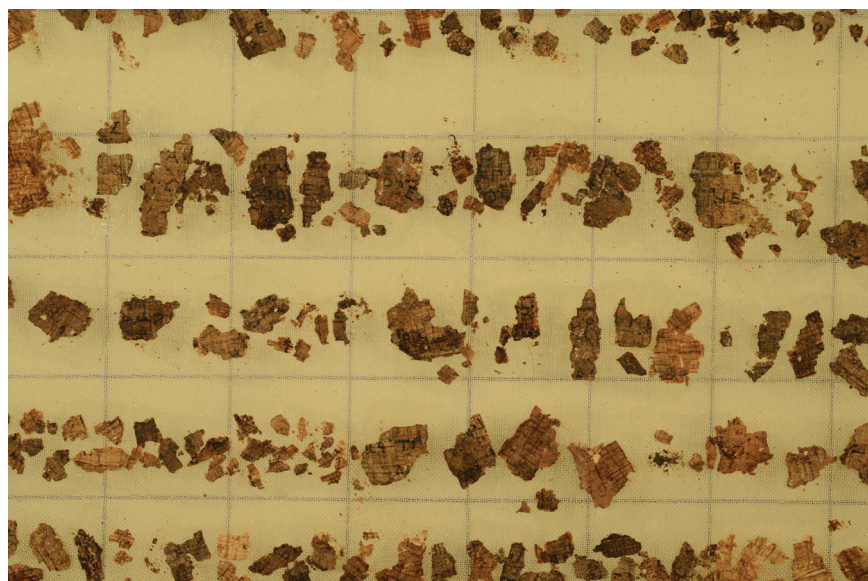


FIGURE 14 *MII 8517 (Frame 2) photomacrography of the central part in the visible*

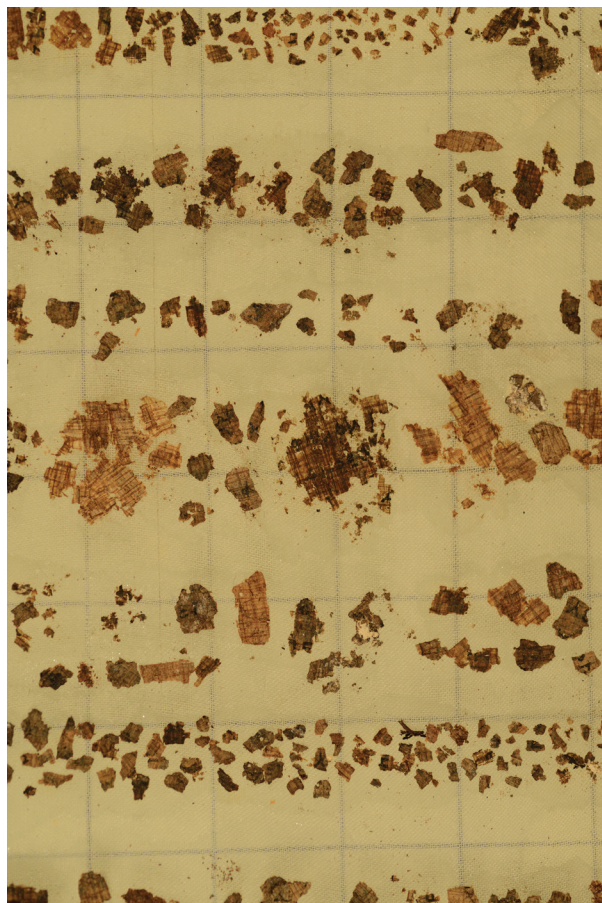


FIGURE 15 *MII 8521 (Frame 6) photomacrography of the central part in the visible*

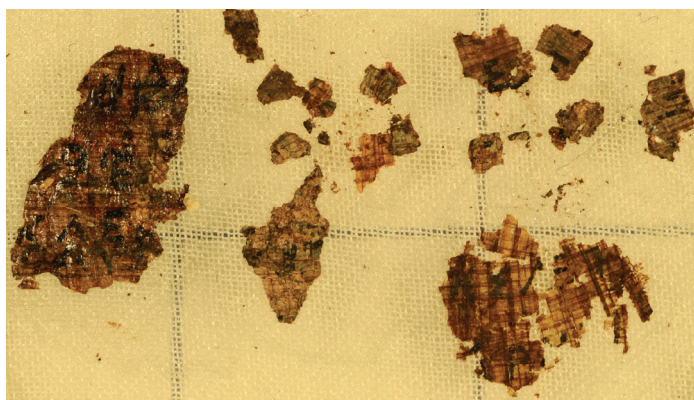


FIGURE 16 *MII 8517 (Frame 2) enlarged detail of fragments shown in Figure 13*



FIGURE 17 *MII 8517 (Frame 2) enlarged detail of fragments shown in Figure 14*

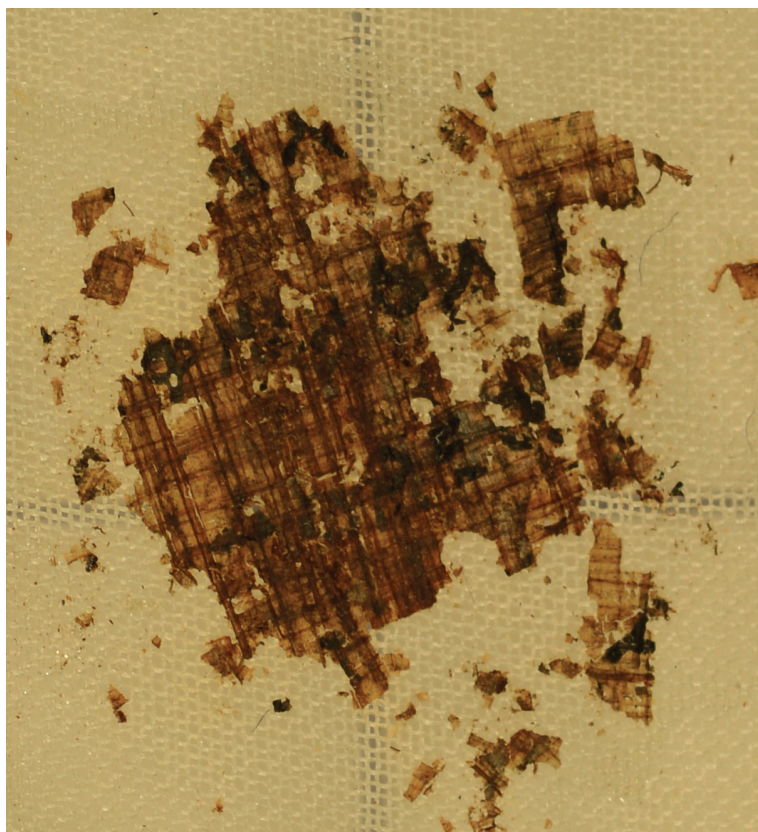


FIGURE 18 *MII 8521 (Frame 6) enlarged detail of a fragment shown in Figure 15*

Section 2. Towards an Edition of the Legible Fragments of the Earliest Greek Papyrus (MΠ 8517 fr. 1-4, MΠ 8520 fr. 2, 9-11, MΠ 8521 fr. 1)

Ioanna Karamanou

The papyrus-roll discovered along with five wooden writing tablets and musical instruments (fragments of a harp, of a lyre and the tube of an aulos with mouthpiece) in the so-called ‘Musician’s Tomb’ in Daphne was evidently owned by the deceased, who was a young person in his or her early twenties.¹⁰ The tomb can plausibly be dated to 430/425 BC. This is the date of the four lekythoi found in the next tomb (Tomb I), which forms a single ensemble with the “Musician’s Tomb” (Tomb II) and is consistent with the dating of the harp in 430/410 BC.¹¹

Accordingly, the Daphne papyrus-roll constitutes the earliest known Greek papyrus, dated some time earlier than 430/425 BC (considering that it was written before the young person’s death.¹² Even more interestingly, the remains of its text seem to display literary features, as observed by Professor Martin West, who edited the larger papyrus fragments (frame 5=MΠ 8520 fr.1, 3-5, 8 and frame 8=MΠ 8523; see Figures 5 and 8 respectively).¹³ Professor West kindly assigned me to edit the rest of the papyrus fragments in the present study, regarding this as important for the sake of completeness in the publication of the Daphne tombs. My edition thus aims at offering an overview of the legible material and detecting more readings, which could help to explore the possibly literary character of this papyrus text.¹⁴

Upon its discovery the papyrus-roll was described as “a shapeless, flattened mass” comprising several layers pasted together, in consequence of the unfavourable conditions of high humidity in the tomb.¹⁵ Its original size is estimated to have reached 12 cm in height and 3 cm in diameter.¹⁶ The restorer Antonios Glinos detached the fragments piece by piece and attached them to

10 See Pöhlmann and West 2012, 2-3, Pöhlmann 2013, 12-14, Psaroudakēs 2013, Terzēs 2013.

11 Simon and Wehgartner 2013, 64, Pöhlmann 2013, 14, Terzēs 2013, 126.

12 Pöhlmann and West 2012, 3, 9.

13 West 2013, 81-84, Pöhlmann and West 2012, 7-9.

14 I am grateful to Professor Egert Pöhlmann and Professor Martin West for entrusting me with the Daphne papyrus-material; to Professor Athena Alexopoulou for her excellent photographs; to Assistant Professor Ioanna Spiliopoulou and Dr Dorina Moullou for valuable advice; to Dr Stella Chrysoulaki and Mrs Angeliki Poulou of the 26th Ephorate of Antiquities.

15 Modiano 1981, Pöhlmann 2013, 8-12.

16 Lawson, P., *Nat.Mus. BE* 29/1981, 17/6/1981.

silk in eight frames, without, however, always managing to preserve their original relative positions or separate the compacted layers (for its conservation see Alexopoulou in Section 1 above).¹⁷

Of the eight frames already described by Prof. West,¹⁸ frames 1 (MII 7449, Figure 1), 4 (MII 8519, Figure 4) and 7 (MII 8522, Figure 7) comprise several hundreds of tiny fragments preserving one or two letters at best. MII 8518 (frame 3, Figures 3 and 12) consists of compacted layers, in which only scattered letters may be discerned even in infrared images, making any reading of letter-sequences extremely insecure. Consequently, the fragments selected for this edition belong to frame 2 (MII 8517, Figures 2, 13-14 and 16-17), frame 5 (MII 8520, Figures 5 and 9-11) and frame 6 (MII 8521, Figures 6, 15 and 18), and preserve lines containing letter-sequences of four to seven letters, which enables the reading of syllables hinting at words attested in literature before 430 BC (i.e. the approximate date of the papyrus). The tattered state of the fragments, most of which consist of compacted layers, naturally calls for due caution. Therefore, in lines preserving four or more successive letters a description of dotted letters and of letter-traces is provided, with the purpose of justifying conjectures, as far as possible. Though speculation is unfortunately inevitable, an effort is made to explore every plausible supplement and different kinds of word-division.

The writing belongs to a skilled hand and the letter-forms resemble those of contemporary inscriptions.¹⁹ The text is written in the Ionic alphabet employed frequently in Athens from mid-fifth century BC onwards.²⁰

Frame 2=MII 8517 (Figures 2, 13-14 and 16-17)

About four hundred small fragments are arranged in eight rows. Those selected for edition are numbered from 1 to 6 starting from the upper row. The writing in the fragments of frames 2 and 6 is to a good extent visible by means of digital photographs in macro mode in the visible spectrum, for which see Alexopoulou in Section 1 above.

Fr. 1 (Figure 16), situated in the first row and towards the left of the frame. It comprises three layers, of which only two provide legible letter-sequences in paired lines.

17 Pöhlmann 2013, 11, Alexopoulou and Kaminari 2013, 29-30.

18 West 2013, 79-80, Pöhlmann and West 2012, 6.

19 Pöhlmann-West 2012, 6-7, West 2013, 80.

20 West 2013, 76, 80, Threatte 1980, I 27-34.

A: Lower layer

]ογ [
]. δε. [
]. οφυδ[

- 1 [: trace of an ascending oblique.
- 2]. : unidentifiable traces of ink. .[: trace of a vertical.
- 3]. : faint trace of a stroke sloping to the left: Λ, Α, Δ or Μ. δ[: an ascending oblique joined to a low horizontal, as in Δ.

In l. 3 the rare combination of letters]οφυδ[could be suggestive of the Homeric word ὀλοφύδ[νός ('lamenting': *Il.* 5.683, 23.102, *Od.* 19.362). The traces of the letter preceding Ο are consistent with Λ.

B: Upper layer

]νδϱ[
]. ογ. [
]κλεϱ[

- 1]. : a high trace of ink. ϱ[: an ascending oblique; due to the preceding letters, Α is likelier than Λ or Δ.
- 2]. : traces of a vertical. γ: a vertical joined to a descending oblique, as in Ν. .[: high traces of ink.
- 3 ϱ[: an ascending oblique joined in the middle to a horizontal.

The letter-sequence in l. 3 may hint at the word κλέϱ ('fame': *Il.* 9.189, 9.524, *Od.* 8.73) and its compounds, which occur mainly in poetry by that time: e.g. εὐ]κλέϱ ('famous': *Pi. O.* 2.90, *P.* 8.62, *S. OT* 161), δυς]κλέϱ ('infamous': *Il.* 2.115), ἄ]κλέϱ ('inglorious': *Od.* 4.728), ἄγα]κλέϱ ('very glorious': *Pi. I.* 1.34). Alternatively, it might belong to a proper name ending in -κλεα, e.g. Ἡρα]κλέϱ ([*Hes.*] *Sc.* 448, 458, *Pi. O.* 10.16). Likewise, Prof. West reads κλέϱος or perhaps Ἡρα]κλέϱος in one of the writing tablets, which may be interestingly associated with the famous fr. 264 M.-W. spoken by Heracles in the Hesiodic *Wedding of Keyx* and apparently alluded to in the previous line of the same writing tablet.²¹ Other proper names may include Ἴφι]κλέϱ (*Pi. P.* 9.88), Ἑτεο]κλέϱ (*S. Ant.* 23), Ἴππο]κλέϱ

21 See tablet A2.3 in West 2013, 77.

(Pi. P. 10.5, 10.57) or a name ending in -κλε, e.g. Πάτρο]κλε α[. Such names could point to a poetic theme.

Fr. 2 (Figure 16), situated in the first row to the right of fr. 1.

]ηcαετ[
]αρμαη.[

1 τ[: the left part of a high horizontal joined to a vertical; E cannot be excluded.

2]α : traces of an ascending and a descending oblique; due to the next letters, A is likelier than Δ or Λ. α: high trace of an ascending oblique; A likelier than Δ or Λ owing to the preceding letters. η : a left-hand upright joined in the middle to a horizontal; E cannot be excluded. .[: after the break unclear traces of ink.

In l. 2 the word-division should reasonably be]αρμα η.[. One might thus read ἄρμα ('chariot') or χ]ἄρμα ('joy').

Fr. 3 (Figure 17), located at the centre of the fifth row. It is torn in the middle, consisting of two pieces plausibly brought together by Glinos.

]εμμο . ε[
]ηνορεc .[
]oc . .[

1]ε : a high horizontal and faint traces of a middle and a low one. ο : after the break a low trace of a rounded letter; owing to the preceding letters O is likelier than Θ. . : traces of a left-hand upright and faint traces of a high loop; perhaps P? ε[: traces of an upright joined to the right with a high and a low horizontal, as in E.

2 ρ: a left-hand upright joined to a high loop, traces of which are preserved after the break. .[: a low dot of ink.

3 . : trace of a high horizontal apparently joined to an upright after the break: Π or T? .[: a high trace of ink.

In l. 1 the combination of letters might hint at a word such as ἔμμορε (perfect tense of μείρομαι: 'to obtain one's due share'). This form is poetic and mainly epic (*Il.* 1.278, *Od.* 11.338, *Hes. Th.* 414, *Op.* 347).

If the letter-sequence in l. 2 belongs to one word, it may well provide the second component -ηνορεc of ἀγ]ήνορεc ('courageous', 'arrogant': *Il.* 10.299,

Od. 2.235, *Hes. Th.* 237, *Op.* 7, *A. Th.* 124), φθικ]ήνορεc ('killing men': *Il.* 2.833, *Hes. Th.* 431), ῥηξ]ήνορεc ('breaking through armed ranks', an epithet of Achilles: *Il.* 7.228, *Od.* 4.5, *Hes. Th.* 1007), εὐ]ήνορεc ('glorious': *Od.* 4.622, 13.19) or ὀλεc]ήνορεc ('man-destroying': *Thgn.* 399). These epithets are poetic *par excellence* and mostly epic. Moreover, the reading -ηνορεc could be the sign of dactylic rhythm. Cf. West 2013, 81-82 for another possible instance of dactylic rhythm in ΜΠ 8520, fr. 4.6. The possibility of another word-division cannot be excluded, e.g.]ην ορεc.[and the second word might have been the common plural dative ὄρεc! (of ὄρος 'mountain') or the beginning of words such as ὄρεc! [τροφοc ('mountain-bred': *Il.* 12.299, *Od.* 9.292), ὄρεcκ[ῶοc ('lying on mountains': *Il.* 1.268, *Hes.* fr. 209.5 M.-W.), ὄρεcc[ινόμοc ('mountain-ranging': [*Hes.*] *Sc.* 407), ὄρέcc[εροc ('mountain-dwelling': *Il.* 22.93, *Od.* 10.212), ὄρεcc[ι/-φ[ιν (epic genitive and dative singular and plural of ὄρος: *Il.* 4.452, 22.139). Even in this case, the possible supplements are to a degree suggestive of poetic vocabulary.

Fr. 4 (Figure 17), located next to fr. 3. I disregard interlinear letters belonging to another layer.

]α.[
]. . φορεδ[
]. . [

1. [: unclear traces of ink.
- 2] . . : shades of overlapping letters from several layers. δ[: left angle of Δ or lower angle of C.
- 3] . . [: high traces of ink.

The word-division in l. 2 should reasonably be]φορε δ[. A possible reading could involve the vocative -φόρε of a compound adjective in -φόροc. The following epithets in -φόροc are attested in the vocative: βουληφόρε ('counseling': *Il.* 5.180, 20.83, *Hes.* fr. 280.26 M.-W.) and Θεcμοφόρε ('law-giving', an epithet of Demeter: *Pi.* fr. 37.1 Sn.-M.).²² Other possibilities might include the vocative of ἀθλοφόροc or ἀεθλοφόροc ('victorious': *Il.* 9.124, *Hes.* fr. 23a.39 M.-W., *Pi. O.* 7.7, *Hdt.* 1.31.7), πυροφόροc ('wheat-bearing': *Il.* 21.602, *Hes. Op.* 549), τελεcφόροc ('bringing fulfillment': *Od.* 4.86, *Hes. Th.* 740, *S. Aj.* 1390), τοξοφόροc ('bow-bearing': *Il.* 21.483, *Pi. O.* 6.59, *Hdt.* 1.103.5), ἀcπιδηφόροc ('shield-bearing': *A. Th.* 19, *Ag.* 825), καρποφόροc ('fruit-bearing': *Pi. P.* 4.6, *Hdt.* 1.193.25). All these adjectives occur mostly in poetry in this period, with the exception of a few instances provided by Herodotus.

²² Cf. λεωφόρε attached to a prostitute by Anacreon (*PMG* 346 fr. 1.13).

Frame 5=MII 8520 (Figures 5, 9-11)

It comprises 44 fragments, of which Prof. West edited fr. 1, 3, 4, 5 and 8. They are numbered from the left of the frame to the right. The writing is visible only in infrared photographs taken by Athena Alexopoulou in July 2012.²³

Fr. 2 (Figure 9), situated at the left of the frame between fr. 1 and 5 West. As with fr. 1 of this frame and MII 8523 of frame 8,²⁴ it has writing belonging to several layers providing lines overlapping and out of alignment. Five layers provide legible letter-sequences. The two upper layers (A-B) are evidently preserved at the left side of the fragment, whereas the lower layers seem to be located at its right side along with a smaller piece attached to it (C-E).

A: Top Layer.²⁵ I disregard traces of interlinear letters from a lower layer.

]οπρ.[
].κϱ.[

B: Second Layer.²⁶ I disregard traces of interlinear letters.

]οθ.[
].απ.[

C: Third Layer.²⁷ Layers C and D are combined giving paired lines.

]μεσηγ[
]ωρωδυ.[
].ετ[
]με[

1]μ : a right-hand upright joined to an oblique; possibly the right-hand leg of M. γ[: a left-hand upright and faint traces of a descending oblique joined to it.

2]ω : faint traces of a rounded letter joined to a low left-hand horizontal.
ρ : high traces of a loop possibly joined to a left-hand upright, as in P. .[: a high trace of ink

²³ Alexopoulou and Kaminari 2013, 31-32.

²⁴ West 2013, 81, 83-84.

²⁵ Upper left quadrant.

²⁶ Lower left quadrant.

²⁷ At the right half of the fragment overlapping layer D.

3] . : unclear traces of ink. τ[: an upright joined to a high horizontal; Π cannot be excluded.

In l. 2 a possible word-division could be]ωρ ωδϋ.[hinting at a proper name or adjective ending in -ωρ and followed by a verb beginning with ωδϋ.[, e.g. ὠδύρ[ετο ('to lament': *Il.* 24.166) or the epic ὠδύς[ατο ('to hate': *Il.* 18.292, *Od.* 1.62, *Hes. Th.* 617).

D: Fourth Layer.

] . . ωμ[
]χλξω[
]αργαλ[
]χπ .[
] . .[

1] . . : unclear traces of ink.

2]χ : a vertical joined to an ascending oblique at middle height, as in K. ξ : traces of a left-hand vertical joined to a middle and a low horizontal, as in E.

3]α : an ascending oblique; due to the next letters, Α is likelier than Λ or Δ. λ[: an ascending oblique and traces of a descending one with a serif at its top, as in Λ.

4]χ : a vertical joined to a descending oblique at middle height, as in K. .[: the left part of a rounded letter; Ο likelier than Θ, owing to the preceding letter.

5] . . .[: unclear traces of ink.

In l. 2 one may recognize an adverb such as εὖ]χλεῶ[c or ἄ]χλεῶ[c perhaps recurring in one of the writing-tablets read by Prof. West,²⁸ or alternatively the adjective εὖ]χλέω[v (as εὖχλέων ἔργων in *Pi. I.* 3/4.7, 3/4.41); a possible reference to χλέος or its compounds could also occur above in ΜΠ 8517, fr. 1B.3. The letter-sequence in l. 3 is suggestive of the poetic word ἄργαλ[έος ('painful', 'troublesome'); see *Il.* 1.589, *Od.* 11.101, *Hes. Th.* 718, *Op.* 66, *Sol. fr.* 13.61 W, *Thgn.* 832, *Mimn.* fr. 9.4 W.

²⁸ Tablet A2.3: West 2013, 77.

E: Fifth Layer:²⁹ Evidently located between C and D.

]α.[
]. πϖ.[
]. .[

Fr. 9 (Figure 10), situated in the upper middle of the frame to the right of fr. 8 West. I disregard the faint traces of ink from a lower layer overlapped by this fragment.

]αναζ[
]. εγαϖ.[
]. .[

1 ζ[: a low and high horizontal joined to a middle vertical; compare the form of Z in fr. 1.6 of the same frame (West 2013, 81 and plate II 7a) and the letter-forms in West 2013, 80, fig. 2.

2]. : trace of an upright. α : probably the triangle of A; too small for Δ. ϖ : trace of a left descending oblique, as in Y. .[: unclear trace of ink.

3]. .[: unclear traces of ink.

In l. 1 a probable word-division could be]ανὰ ζ[. Alternatively, one cannot exclude a form of ἀναζέω ('to boil up': [A.] *PV* 370) or ἀναζεύγνυμι ('to yoke again': Hdt. 8.60.8, 9.58.16). A different word-division such as]αν αζ[may involve a form of ἄζω ('to dry up': Hes. *Op.* 587, [Hes.] *Scut.* 397) and its derivatives, e.g. ἄζα ('mould': *Od.* 22.184) and ἄζαλέος ('dry': *Il.* 20.491, *Od.* 9.234, Hes. fr. 266a.10 M.-W.);]αζα occurs also in MΠ 8520 fr. 1.6 and 3.8 West.³⁰ Other possible readings may include a form of ἄζομαι ('to stand in awe of': *Il.* 5.434, *Od.* 9.478, Hes. *Th.* 532, A. *Supp.* 884), ἀζηχῆς ('unceasing': *Il.* 15.25, *Od.* 18.3) or ἄζηλος ('unenviable': Semon. fr. 1.11 W., Hdt. 7.140.9, A. *Ch.* 1017).

In l. 2 if the letter-sequence].εγαϖ.[is taken to belong to one word, it might be tempting to read the epic form ἐκ]γεγαϖῆ[α ('born of'), which is attached to Helen (*Il.* 3.199, 3.418, *Od.* 4.184), Athena (*Od.* 6.229), the Muses (Hes. *Th.* 76) and Dike (Hes. *Op.* 256) as daughters of Zeus. Another reading may be the poetic form μεγαϖυχῆς ('boasting': Pi. *N.* 11.21, A. *Pers.* 642). Different word-divisions

²⁹ Lower right quadrant.

³⁰ West 2013, 81.

could either produce]ε γαυ[perhaps involving a form of the epithet γαῦρος ('haughty': Archil. fr. 114.2 W.) or simply]μέγα ψ[.

Fr. 10 Figure 10), situated in the middle of the frame and comprising at least three layers, two of which provide legible text in paired lines.

A: Lower layer. The smaller piece attached to the lower right side by Glinos (end of l. 4) seems to belong to this layer. It overlaps an even lower one, whose text is not legible.

]φρα[
]. χτοικ .[
]. οχλοκ[
]χη φι [

1]φ : a wide loop, as in Φ.

2]. : a low trace of ink. χ: an angle of two obliques, as in K; too wide for the lower angle of Σ. .[: an upright.

3]. : a high trace of ink. χ : an upright overlapping traces of ink from a lower layer and joined to an ascending oblique at middle height, as in K.

4 η : faint traces of two verticals joined to a middle horizontal. . . . : faint traces of ink. .[: trace of a high horizontal.

In l. 1 one might detect a form of φράζω or the Ionic poetic conjunction ὄ] φρα. The latter would be a sign of poetic diction consistent with the traces of Ionic dialect noted by Prof. West in MΠ 8520 fr. 3.6 (lower layer: κ]ωψκξτ!) and perhaps in B2.4 of the writing tablets (ωύ[τός).³¹ See also below, MΠ 8521 fr. 1.3.

If K is rightly read in l. 3, the letter-sequence]οχλοκ[might provide the ending of a proper name. An obvious candidate could be Πάτ]ροχλοκ or even "Ιπ]ποχλοκ mentioned in Hes. fr. 70.33 M.-W. and Ἑτ]έροχλοκ first attested in the same Hesiodic context (fr. 70.34 M.-W). Such references would be suggestive of a poetic theme.

B: Upper layer

] . .[
]λων . [
]ο . η . ν .[
] . . ρ . . .[

³¹ West 2013, 78-79, 81.

Fr. 11 (fig.11): situated at the lower right side of the frame. Two layers are visible, giving paired lines. The upper layer is preserved only in the left half of the fragment with the exception of l. 1 also extending towards the right.

A: Lower Layer.

]. πιβ[.] ..[
] βιενν.[
]φε...[
]..[.]β...[

1]. : a low trace of ink. [.] . [: after the break unclear traces of ink.

2] : a low trace of ink. β : traces of two loops joined vertically, as in B.
 μ : a left-hand upright and a right-hand one after the break; Π cannot be
excluded. \lceil : a possible upright joined to a high horizontal.

3 ε : an upright joined to a low and high horizontal...[: high traces of a letter mostly lost in the break and unclear traces from the two next letters.

4]. . [.] : unclear traces of ink and at least one letter lost in the break.
 ß : part of a low loop probably joined to an upper one ... [: unclear traces
 of ink.

The letters in l. 1 could be read either as ἐπι β[or as ἐπιβ[(e.g. a form of ἐπιβαίνω, ἐπιβάλλω, ἐπιβουλεύω, ἐπιβρέμω etc).

In l. 2 one may be tempted to read ὀλβιε employed in invocations in *Od.* 24.36, 24.192, Hes. fr. 211.7 M.-W., *Sapph.* fr. 112.1 L.-P., *A. Supp.* 526 or the vocative Τολθ' ὀλβιε of the name of the Iliadic herald. A vocative seems to occur also in ΜΠ 8517 fr. 4.2 above.

B: Upper Layer.

]εϣ[]οτ[
]ϣοϣ.[
]υστ[
]..[

Frame 6=MII 8521 (Figures 6, 15, 18)

About seven hundred mostly tiny fragments are arranged in nine rows. Only in fr. 1 can more than three letters in a line be read.

Fr. 1 (Figure 18), situated on the fifth row at the right of the frame. I disregard the faint traces of text from a lower layer.

]ηλ[
].φηπολξ.[
]ιδηρεος[
].[

1 λ[: an ascending oblique and a descending one extending upwards; X cannot be excluded.

2]. : a low trace of ink. π : a right-hand upright, traces of a left-hand one and faint traces of a high crossbar, as in Π. ξ : after the break a left-hand upright joined to a high horizontal and traces of a middle crossbar, as in E. .[: high traces of ink.

3 ς[: probably the upper angle of C, the rest of which is lost in the break.

4].[: an upright.

In l. 2 the word-division should reasonably be:].φη πολξ.[. Various possibilities arise; e.g.]ξφη, προς]έφη, νύ]μφη, πόλεμ[ον, πόλεξι or the like. The letter-sequence in l. 3 is suggestive of ς]ιδηρεος ('made of iron'), which is an Ionic and epic type distinguished from the contracted Attic type ςιδηροϋς (see *LSJ*⁹): *Il.* 5.723, 22.357, *Od.* 1.204, *Hes. Th.* 764, *Op.* 176, *Hdt.* 1.38.4, 4.62.10.

Conclusion

This edition of the smaller papyrus-fragments from the Daphne tomb has indicated that certain letter-sequences seem to hint at poetic and mainly epic words, the most suggestive of which would be δ]λοφυσδ[νός (ΜΠ 8517, fr.1A.3), ξμμορξ (fr.3.1),]ηνορες (fr.3.2), ἀργαλ[έος (ΜΠ 8520 fr.2D.3) and the possible references to κλέος or its compounds (ΜΠ 8517 fr.1B.3, ΜΠ 8520 fr.2D.2). These traces of poetic diction are congruent with those noted in Prof. West's edition of the larger fragments and, if assessed in combination, they point even more to the possibility that the text was poetic in character. I believe that such a possibility would be significantly enhanced by the fact that Greek literary production up to 430 BC was mainly poetic, with the exception of Herodotus, the Ionian logographers and certain Presocratic philosophers.³² Accordingly, the traditional Athenian literary education of that period was based on Homer and the lyrics.³³ All these factors in conjunction with the artistic activity indicated

32 See, for instance, Goldhill 2002, esp. 1-9.

33 Beck 1964, 117-22, Carr 2005, ch.5, Marrou 1948, 75-76.

by the deceased's musical instruments make it likelier that the text (or at least part of it) was written in poetry rather than prose. Moreover, Ionic forms such as $\epsilon\iota\delta\eta\rho\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ (ΜΠ 8521 fr.1.3) could be added to the Ionicisms observed by Prof. West and point to the possible use of Ionic dialect. Due to space-limits, an overall interpretation and an attempt of contextualizing the written texts of the Daphne tomb will follow in a future publication. For the time being, I shall confine myself to the observation that the possible readings provided in these fragments are consistent with and supplement those of the fragments edited by Prof. West, reinforcing the likelihood that poetic diction was employed in the oldest known Greek papyrus-text.

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The Music of the *Laws* and the Laws of Music

Nomoi in Music and Legislation

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Abstract

In the *Laws*, Plato constantly uses analogies and interchanges between musical and legislative terminology, establishing an etymological connection between special categories of musical compositions (the *nomoi*) and the inviolability of their regulations. This usage was widely echoed in later sources, providing musical and literary critics with a law-based terminology which enabled them to describe and interpret musical phenomena as markers for political changes, leading to a distorted image of old-time *mousikē*.

Keywords

Plato – musical *nomoi*

Introduction

The ancient notion of poetry, conceived as part of the wider concept of *mousikē technē*, led Plato to discuss many technical elements of Greek poetic and musical performances, especially in relation to his views about their psychagogic power and their resulting function in the *polis*. His musical criticism, displayed mainly in his political writings, has been interpreted—sometimes too strictly—as a call, by a traditional conservative, to return to the good old days, when music was supposed to display precise rules and regulations, and consequently as a harsh criticism, not to say a total ban of any kind of innovation and creativity in the arts. This picture influenced to a great extent both

contemporary and subsequent descriptions and prescriptions about musical matters in ancient Greece, providing musical and literary critics of the following centuries with the image of an alleged conservatism of old-time music and with a rigid classification system of Greek poetic genres which, accordingly, did not allow any contamination between them.

One of the most striking examples of Plato's relevant and long-lasting influence concerns his peculiar uses—which, in some cases, have no precedent—of certain musical concepts and terms, to which he also assigns unusual connotations, especially in relation to the semantic areas of *harmonia*, *symphōnia*¹ and *nomos*. This latter term in particular invites investigation, since Plato often makes it resonate with the *nomoi* of music, that is to say, with the need to follow structural and musical rules in composition and performance, which he considers essential for a functional organization of the state.

Given these premises, in the first and main part of the paper I will concentrate on Plato's construction of a nostalgic view of the music of the past, analyzing the constant use in his dialogues of analogies and interchanges between musical and legislative terminology and inspecting their echoes in later sources. In the second and concluding part, I will point out the existence of new trends in music long before they started to be attacked by Plato and other conservatives, in an attempt to get our image of the musical traditions of ancient Greece into a more balanced and realistic perspective.

The Musical *Nomoi*

According to what we may infer from ancient sources, musical *nomoi* were solo pieces (based on a specific narrative content, presumably related to the mythology of the god to whom they were addressed) that were sung to the accompaniment of either the *kithara* or the *aulos* (hence called *kitharōidikoi* or *aulōidikoi nomoi*) or were purely instrumental (*kitharistikoi* or *aulētikoi nomoi*).² From at least the seventh century BC,³ they became the most typical contest pieces performed by competitive musicians during local or Panhellenic

1 Both of them developed in strict conjunction with the Platonic theory of the soul: see, for instance, Pl. *Prt.* 326a-b.

2 For a comprehensive survey on the topic, see Barker 1984, 249-55. The only mention of the possibility that a *nomos* could have been sung by a chorus is in Ps.-Plut. *Mus.* 1134a.

3 As far as we can infer from the evidence collected in Ps.-Plutarch's *De musica*, which provides the most thorough account of musical *nomoi* we possess from antiquity.

games, where their mimetic features seem to have been gradually developed in order to improve the power and potential of their storytelling.

The term *nomos* comes from the root **nem-*, alternating with **nom-*, comprising many meanings and nuances in ancient Greek language, whose primary sense is ‘to distribute’.⁴ The basic meaning of the term is ‘local usage, custom’ which, applied to music, becomes ‘localized melodic idiom’: hence its frequent association with ethnic labels.⁵ The first occurrence of the term *nomos* with a hypothetical musical value is in Alcman: φοῖδα δ’ ὀρνίχων νόμῳ / παντῶν, ‘I know the *nomoi* of all kinds of birds’ (*PMGF* 40). In this fragment the musical meaning of the word may only be assumed, since *nomos* could simply have stood for ‘idiom, peculiar speech or language’, if it had not been for the comparison with fr. 39, where the poet names himself as the ‘discoverer’ of words and melody that put into human language the voices of partridges,⁶ suggesting the musical nuance of the term *nomos* also in fr. 40.⁷

There is in fact no clear evidence for a musical meaning of the word earlier than the fifth century BC, when the term appears mainly in poetic and dramatic contexts, often oscillating between its primary sense of ‘idiom’ (though in the musical field) and the emerging value of ‘legal norm, law’. Within these texts, the authors tend to use it in a non-technical way, of any melody with a definite identity or character, basically as ‘song’ or ‘melody’, vocal or instrumental. For instance, in Pindar *Nemean* 5 Apollo stands among the singing Muses playing his seven-tongued *phorminx* and leading ‘songs of every kind’ (παντοίων νόμων):⁸ here the presence of a singing chorus, instead of a vocal or instrumental solo, offers a strong reason for assuming a less specific sense of the term. In Pindar’s *Olympian* 1 the usage is ambiguous, again—presumably—not technical, since most probably the ‘horse-song’ (ἵππῳ νόμῳ) quoted here is not the name of a specific *nomos* but, more extensively, ‘a song celebrating the victory

4 Laroche 1949. According to his reconstruction, the root **nem-* had the ancient ritual meaning of “faire le geste de se pencher en tendant la main”, from which all the different meanings of the related terms may be derived.

5 E.g. A. *Supp.* 69 (Ἰαονίοισι νόμοισι); Telest. fr. 810. 3 *PMG* (Φρύγιον... νόμον); E. *Or.* 1426 (Φρυγίοισι νόμοις).

6 *PMGF* 39: φέπῃ τάδε καὶ μέλος Ἀλκμάν / εὖρε γεγλωσσαμέναν / κακκαβίδων ὅπα συνθέμενος.

7 Nagy 1990, 88.

8 Pi. *N.* 5. 21 ff. (483 BC): πρόφρων δὲ καὶ κείνοις ᾄειδ’ ἐν Παλῖῳ / Μοισᾶν ὁ κάλλιστος χορὸς, ἐν δὲ μέσαις / φόρμιγγ’ Ἀπόλλων ἐπτάγλωσσον χρυσέῳ πλάκτρῳ διώκων / ἀγέϊτο παντοίων νόμων (‘The most beautiful chorus of Muses sang gladly for the Aeacids on Mt. Pelion, and among them Apollo, sweeping the seven-tongued lyre with a golden plectrum, led all types of strains’, transl. Arnson Svarlien). For a comment of these verses see Pfeijffer 1999, esp. 141.

in a horse race'.⁹ Finally, in Pindar fr. 35c S.-M. there is an interesting connection between the sense of 'laws, rules' (of the gods) and the aural dimension.¹⁰

Other poets, like the dithyrambographer Telestes of Selinus (active between the fifth and the fourth century BC), use *nomos* and *hymnos* interchangeably to mean *harmonia*, that is, 'attunement, musical scale'. In fr. 810 PMG, the term is labelled with the ethnic adjective Phrygian, as opposed to the Lydian *hymnos*:
 πρῶτοι παρὰ κρατήρας Ἑλλάνων ἐν αὐλοῖς / συνοπαδοὶ Πέλοπος Ματρὸς ὀρείας /
 Φρύγιον ἄεισαν νόμον· / τοὶ δ' ὄξυφώνοις πηκτίδων ψαλμοῖς κρέκον / Λύδιον ὕμνον
 ('First of all, Greeks, the comrades brave of Pelops, / Sang o'er their wine, in Phrygian melody, / The praises of the mighty Mountain Mother; / But others, striking the shrill strings of the lyre, / Gave forth a Lydian hymn'; transl. Bohn).

In Aeschylus a musical meaning of the term *nomos* is frequent (once interestingly coupled with the adjective *anomos*)¹¹ and the term is always accompanied by an adjective characterizing it:¹² 'shrill, piercing' (A. 1153: ὀρθίοις ἐν νόμοις), 'tuned to high-pitch' and 'shouted' (Ch. 824: ὀξύκρεκτον βοητὸν νόμον),¹³ 'high pitched, piercing' (Th. 952: τὸν ὄξυν νόμον), 'Ionian' (Supp. 69: "indulging my grief in Ionian strains", Ἰωνίοισι νόμοισι, where, however, the term could also mean 'idiom' in reference to the language), 'giver of sleep' (Pr. 575: ὑπνοδόταν νόμον, said of a 'waxen pipe' / *kēroplastos donax*).¹⁴ According to Fleming (1977, 232), some of these Aeschylean allusions to the musical *nomos* already played upon the legal sense of the word:¹⁵ strikingly, the legal value of *nomos* seems to emerge just in this period. Ostwald (1969), who dedicated an overall study to the topic, demonstrated that it was precisely during the fifth

9 Pi. O. 1. 100-103: ἐμὲ δὲ στεφανῶσαι / κείνον ἵππῳ νόμῳ / Αἰολητῖδι μολπᾷ / χρή ('I must crown that man with the horse-song in the Aeolian strain', transl. Arnson Svarlien). The ode is dedicated to Hieron of Syracuse for his victory in the single horse race (476 BC).

10 Pi. Fr. 35c S.-M.: νόμων ἀκούοντες θεόδματον κέλαδον ('listening to the god-built sound of the laws').

11 A. Ag. 1141-1142: θροεῖς / νόμον ἄνομον. The same idea is expressed at A. Ag. 1473-1474: ἐκνόμῳς / ὕμνον.

12 Other adjectives appears similarly in E. Hec. 685 (κατάρχομαι νόμον βακχείῳ) and E. Hel. 188-189 (νόμον ἰεῖσα/ γοερὸν).

13 But βοητὸν is Enger's emendation. On different interpretations of the passage, see Fleming 1977, 231-32.

14 At A. Ch. 424, the term basically means 'custom': ἔκοψα κομὸν "Ἀριον ἐν τε Κισσίας/νόμοις ἡλεμιστρίας ('On my breast I beat an Arian dirge / in just the same fashion as a Cissian wailing woman', transl. Weir Smyth). See also A. Ag. 150-151, where the Chorus describes the sacrifice of Iphigenia as θυσίαν ἐτέραν, ἄνομόν τιν', ᾄδατον (where the adjective most probably means 'without song'). Lloyd-Jones (1953) interprets this phrase as a reference to the music of the *aulos*, which usually accompanied the sacrifices.

15 Fleming 1977, 232: "Obviously, it is *anomos* to murder a daughter or a husband or a mother [...] each of these acts may be viewed as contrary to the normal order".

century BC that the technical word for ‘statute, (written) political enactment’ in Athens changed from *thesmos* (last attested in this sense in 511/10 BC) to *nomos* (definitely well established in 403/2 BC). In his opinion, the sense of obligation in the concept of *nomos* derives from its being perceived as something not imposed by force, but regarded and accepted as valid by those who live under it. So basically, even in its normative applications, the term keeps relying on its value as ‘conventional custom’.¹⁶

The only fifth-century occurrences which possibly suggest a more technical meaning, then, are Pindar’s *Pythian* 12, where Athena is said to have invented and named the ‘many-headed *nomos*’ (κεφαλᾶν πολλᾶν νόμον), usually interpreted as an expression designating the auletic *nomos polykephalos* (whose ‘heads’ were, most probably, its different musical sections);¹⁷ Herodotus 1, 24,¹⁸ who tells the story of the miraculous rescue by a dolphin of the citharode Arion who, before jumping into the sea, is said to have sung the kitharodic *nomos orthios* (so called because of its slow rhythm or, alternatively, because of its high pitch);¹⁹ and, in the last part of the century, Aristophanes’ comedies, where we find several instances of the word, once in reference to the mythical *aulos*-player Olympos (*Eq.* 8: Δεῦρο δὴ πρόσελθ’, ἵνα / ξυναυλίαν κλαύσωμεν Οὐλύμπου νόμον), once in reference to Aeschylus’ ‘set of odes assembled from his *kitharōidikoi nomoi*’ (*Ra.* 1281-1282: στάσιν μελῶν / ἐκ τῶν κιθαρωδικῶν νόμων εἰργασμένην), once again within a pun on *orthios* (the ‘high-pitched’ song) and *orthios* (the ‘morning’ song, see *Eccl.* 739 ff.: σὺ δὲ δεῦρ’, ἡ κιθαρωδός, ἔξιθι, / πολλάκις ἀναστήσασά μ’ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν / ἄωρὶ νύκτωρ διὰ τὸν ὄρθριον νόμον), and so on.²⁰ None of these occurrences, however, suggests a normative nuance of the word *nomos*, which may be interpreted simply as ‘melodic idiom’, specified by its associated adjective.

Nomoi in Plato’s Laws

In Plato, the term appears in an enormous variety of meanings, which Ostwald summarizes as follows: 1) a conventional linguistic usage (e.g. *Cra.* 384d 7); 2) a customary practice (e.g. *Smp.* 182a 7); 3) a conventional belief (e.g. *Grg.*

16 Ostwald 1969, 55.

17 On *Pythian* 12 see Almazova 2001; Phillips 2013; Steiner 2013.

18 Τὸν δὲ ἐνδύντα τε πᾶσαν τὴν σκευὴν καὶ λαβόντα τὴν κιθάρην, στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἐδωλίοισι διεξελθεῖν νόμον τὸν ὄρθριον, τελευτῶντα δὲ τοῦ νόμου ῥίψαι μιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐωυτὸν ὡς εἶχε σὺν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ.

19 Suda o 575; *ibid.* n 478.

20 Of the same author, see *Eq.* 1278; *Pax* 1159; *Av.* 210 and 745; *Ra.* 684; fr. 692 K.-A.

482e 6); 4) a norm of individual behaviour (e.g. *R.* 587c 2); 5) a religious practice (e.g. *Phd.* 58b 5); 6) a condition of law-and-order (e.g. *R.* 587a 10).²¹

In his last dialogue, the *Laws*, the frequency of the word *nomos* and its related terms increases—as is only to be expected, given the subject of the work.²² Here Plato starts playing with the multiple nuances of the term, skilfully shifting between its musical and legal value (for a precedent see already *Republic* 425a, where we are told that ‘children in their earliest play are imbued with the spirit of law and order through their music’).²³

The most interesting example of this intentional linguistic ambiguity is in Book 3, where Plato gives his famous nostalgic view of the music of the past (ἡ τότε μουσική), whose types and forms (εἶδη καὶ σχήματα) were properly distinguished and it was not permitted (οὐκ ἐξήν) to use one type of melody for the purpose of another (ἄλλο εἰς ἄλλο καταχρησθαι μέλους εἶδος: I will come back to this expression later on).

Ath.: Under the ancient laws, my friends, our common people were not masters of anything, but were in a sort of way voluntary slaves to the laws.

Meg.: *What laws do you mean?*

Ath.: *Those, first of all, to do with the music they had then, if we are to describe the growth of the excessively liberated life from its beginning. In those days our music was divided into various types and forms. One type of song consisted of prayers to the gods, the name given to these being ‘hymns’. There was another type, the opposite of the first, which one might best call ‘lamentations’: another consisted of paeans, and there was another, invented, I think by Dionysus, known as the ‘dithyramb’. To another class of song they assigned the name nomoi itself, adding the title ‘kitharodic’. With these types and various others properly distinguished, it was not permitted to use one type of melody for the purposes of another. [...] But later, as time went on, there appeared as instigators of unmusical law-breaking composers who, though by nature skilled at composition, were ignorant of what is right and lawful in music. In a Bacchic frenzy,*

21 Ostwald 1969, xv n. 3.

22 On the *Laws*, see Bobonich 2010; Peponi 2013; Prauscello 2014.

23 [...] παῖδες παίζειν εὐνομίαν διὰ τῆς μουσικῆς εἰσδέξωνται (transl. Shorey). In a very recent publication (2014, 54–5), Andrew Barker suggests the possibility that it was the historian Ephorus (born in about 405 BC) who “pioneered an approach to historical writings which integrated musical traditions into the political arrangements of the societies it discussed”, and that the content of the *Laws* was influenced to a great extent by Plato’s reading of Ephorus’ work. I find the hypothesis (which does not affect my argument here) very fascinating, since it shows how the fact that some ancient sources happen to have survived and others have not may have moulded our perceptions of the past.

and enthralled beyond what is right by pleasure, they mixed lamentations with hymns and paeans with dithyrambs, imitated *aulos* songs with their *kithara* songs, and put everything together with everything else, thus unintentionally, through their stupidity, giving false witness against music, *alleging that music possesses no standard of correctness*, but is most correctly judged by the pleasure of the person who enjoys it, whether he is a better man or a worse. By creating compositions of these kinds and by choosing corresponding words, *they inspired the masses with lawlessness towards music*, and the effrontery to suppose that they were capable of judging it. As a result the audiences, which had been silent, became noisy, as if they understood what is good in music and what is not, and a musical aristocracy was displaced by a degenerate theatrocracy. Now no doubt it would have been no very terrible thing if a democracy of free men had arisen just in the field of music: *but in fact, from a starting-point in music, everyone came to believe in their own wisdom about everything, and to reject the law, and liberty followed immediately* [...].²⁴

Here the νόμοι περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν resonate with the *nomoi* as musical genre, more specifically with the *kitharōidikoi nomoi*,²⁵ the most popular kind in Plato's time (if we exclude, perhaps, the auletic *Pythikos nomos*, which however—

24 Lg. 700a-701b (transl. Barker, italics mine): ΑΘ. Ἔσται ταῦτα. οὐκ ἦν, ὦ φίλοι, ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν παλαιῶν νόμων ὁ δῆμος τινων κύριος, ἀλλὰ τρόπον τινὰ ἐκῶν ἐδοῦλεν τοῖς νόμοις. ΜΕ. Ποίους δὴ λέγεις; ΑΘ. Τοῖς περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν πρώτον τὴν τότε, ἵνα ἐξ ἀρχῆς διέλθωμεν τὴν τοῦ ἐλευθέρου λίαν ἐπίδοσιν βίου. διηρημένη γὰρ δὴ τότε ἦν ἡμῖν ἡ μουσικὴ κατὰ εἶδη τε ἐαυτῆς ἅττα καὶ σχήματα, καὶ τι ἡν εἶδος ὧδῆς εὐχαὶ πρὸς θεοὺς, ὄνομα δὲ ὕμνοι ἐπεκαλοῦντο· καὶ τούτῳ δὴ τὸ ἐναντίον ἦν ὧδῆς ἕτερον εἶδος-θρήνους δὲ τις ἂν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα ἐκάλεσεν-καὶ παίωνες ἕτερον, καὶ ἄλλο, Διονύσου γένεσις οἶμαι, διθύραμβος λεγόμενος. νόμους τε αὐτὸ τοῦτο τοῦνομα ἐκάλουν, ὧδῃν ὡς τινα ἐτέραν· ἐπέλεγον δὲ κιθαρωδικούς. τούτων δὲ διατεταγμένων καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν, οὐκ ἐξῆν ἄλλο εἰς ἄλλο καταχρησθαι μέλους εἶδος· [...] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου, ἄρχοντες μὲν τῆς ἀμούσου παρανομίας ποιηταὶ ἐγίγνοντο φύσει μὲν ποιητικοί, ἀγνώμονες δὲ περὶ τὸ δίκαιον τῆς Μούσης καὶ τὸ νόμιμον, βακχεύοντες καὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ δέοντος κατεχόμενοι ὑφ' ἡδονῆς, κεραννύτες δὲ θρήνους τε ὕμνους καὶ παίωνας διθυράμβους, καὶ αὐλωθίας δὴ ταῖς κιθαρωδικαῖς μιμούμενοι, καὶ πάντα εἰς πάντα συνάγοντες, μουσικῆς ἄκοντες ὑπ' ἀνοίας καταψευδόμενοι ὡς ὀρθότηκα μὲν οὐκ ἔχει οὐδ' ἡντιονοῦν μουσικῇ, ἡδονὴ δὲ τῇ τοῦ χαίροντος, εἴτε βελτίων εἴτε χείρων ἂν εἴη τις, κρίνοιτο ὀρθότατα. τοιαῦτα δὲ ποιοῦντες ποιήματα, λόγους τε ἐπιλέγοντες τοιοῦτους, τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐνέθεσαν παρανομίαν εἰς τὴν μουσικὴν καὶ τόλμαν ὡς ἱκανοῖς οὖσιν κρίνειν· ὅθεν δὴ τὰ θεάτρα ἐξ ἀφώνων φωνήεντ' ἐγένοντο, ὡς ἐπαίοντα ἐν μούσαις τό τε καλὸν καὶ μῆ, καὶ ἀντὶ ἀριστοκρατίας ἐν αὐτῇ θεατροκρατία τις πονηρὰ γέγονεν. εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ δημοκρατία ἐν αὐτῇ τις μόνον ἐγένετο ἐλευθέρων ἀνδρῶν, οὐδὲν ἂν πάνυ γε δεινὸν ἦν τὸ γεγονός· νῦν δὲ ἥρξε μὲν ἡμῖν ἐκ μουσικῆς ἡ πάντων εἰς πάντα σοφίας δόξα καὶ παρανομία, συνεφέσπετο δὲ ἐλευθερία. [...].

25 Lg. 700b 5 f.: νόμους τε αὐτὸ τοῦτο τοῦνομα ἐκάλουν, ὧδῃν ὡς τινα ἐτέραν· ἐπέλεγον δὲ κιθαρωδικούς.

being purely instrumental—has not been taken into account by the author in this context, for reasons I will discuss later). As had already been anticipated by some comments in previous passages of the same dialogue (for instance at 657b, where Plato had stated that, if one could somehow grasp the nature of correctness, *orthotēs*, in melodies, he might then reduce them ‘to legal form and prescription’, *eis nomon agein kai taxin*), this double meaning of the term makes it possible for him to identify in such a genre that purity and strictness which he regards as crucial in the proper education of citizens, ascribing them to any kind of music performed in an imaginary golden age.

Another passage in Book 4 further amplifies this image, establishing a parallel between the musical *prooimía* to kitharodic *nomoi* (i.e., the introductions—vocal or instrumental—which we know were performed before the main solo pieces in order to catch the audience’s attention as well as to obtain the favour of the gods)²⁶ and what Plato calls the ‘preludes to laws’, as if to say, statements which have the function—he says—‘to put their hearers in a more cooperative frame of mind and so make them readier to learn’ (*Lg.* 723a):²⁷

[...] what went before was all simply preludes to laws. What is my object in saying this? It is to explain that all utterances and vocal expressions have preludes and tunings-up (as one might call them), which provide a kind of artistic preparation which assists towards the further development of the subject. *Indeed, we have examples before us of preludes, admirably elaborated, in those prefixed to that class of lyric ode called the “nome,” and to musical compositions of every description. But for the “nomes” (i.e. laws) which are real nomes—and which we designate “political”—no one has ever yet uttered a prelude, or composed or published one, just as though there were no such thing.* But our present conversation proves, in my opinion, that there is such a thing; and it struck me just now that the laws we were then stating are something more than simply double, and consist of these two things combined—law, and prelude to law.²⁸

26 Perhaps startling or amusing them with some musical pyrotechnics.

27 See also Arist. *Rh.* 1414b 19 ff., where rhetorical *prooimía* are seemingly compared with auletic musical *prooimía*.

28 *Lg.* 722d-e (transl. Bury): τὰ δ' ἔμπροσθεν ἦν πάντα ἡμῖν προοίμια νόμων. τί δὲ ταῦτ' εἶρηκα; τότε εἰπεῖν βουλευθεὶς, ὅτι λόγων πάντων καὶ ὅσων φωνῇ κεκοινώνηκεν προοίμια τέ ἐστιν καὶ σχεδὸν οἶόν τινας ἀνακινήσεις, ἔχουσαι τινα ἔντεχνον ἐπιχείρησιν χρήσιμον πρὸς τὸ μέλλον περᾶνεσθαι. καὶ δὴ που κιθαρῳδικῆς ᾠδῆς λεγομένων νόμων καὶ πάσης μουσικῆς προοίμια θαυμαστῶς ἐσπουδασμένα πρόκειται· τῶν δὲ ὄντως νόμων ὄντων, οὓς δὴ πολιτικούς εἶναι φάμεν, οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὕτ' εἶπέ τι προοίμιον οὔτε συνθέτης γενομένος ἐξήνεγκεν εἰς τὸ φῶς, ὥς οὐκ ὄντος φύσει. ἡμῖν δὲ ἡ νῦν διατριβὴ γεγονυῖα, ὥς ἔμοι δοκεῖ, σημαίνει ὥς ὄντος, οἳ τέ γε δὴ διπλοὶ ἔδοξαν νυνδὴ μοι

One of the most explicit overlappings of the two meanings reappears then in Book 7, where the Athenian reflects on ‘the strange (*atopon*) fact [...] that our songs have become *nomoi* for us (νόμους τὰς ᾠδὰς ἡμῖν γεγονέναι), just as in ancient times people gave this name, so it appears (ὥς ἔοικεν), to songs sung to the *kithara*.²⁹ Hereafter Plato lists some specific laws—calling them also models (*typoi*) and moulds (*ekmageia*)³⁰—related to music (τῶν περὶ μουσικῶν νόμων καὶ τύπων),³¹ most of which have to do more with the religious and civic purposes of music performances than with specific technical aspects inherent in them. In the first place, he says, the presence in songs of *euphēmia* (i.e., ‘well-omened utterance’) is absolutely vital:³² we know, for instance, that at the Pythian games aulodic competitions were canceled in 582 BC, after having been introduced only a few years earlier (586 BC), just because of their threnodic and lugubrious character (thinking that the music was inauspicious, *ouk euphēmon*, to listen to, we are told by Pausanias).³³ Secondly, there should be ‘prayers (εὐχαί) to the gods to whom we sacrifice on each and every occasion’:³⁴ that is, the collective songs performed by the civic body should be strictly linked to the religious calendar of the *polis*. Thirdly, Plato states the norm according to which ‘the poet shall compose nothing beyond what is deemed lawful (νόμιμα) and right (δίκαια) and fine (καλά) and good (ἀγαθὰ) by the city’, and that such compositions must be approved by ‘those who are appointed as judges in these matters’ (as if to say: music should always be in the service of the state and controlled by its rulers).³⁵ Next, ‘it would be most correct for hymns (ὕμνοι) and laudations (ἐγκώμια) of the gods, coupled with prayers (κεκοινωνημένα εὐχαῖς), to be sung, and after the gods, the demigods and heroes would be given

λεχθέντες νόμοι οὐκ εἶναι ἀπλῶς οὕτω πως διπλοῖ, ἀλλὰ δύο μὲν τινε, νόμος τε καὶ προοίμιον τοῦ νόμου.

29 *Lg.* 799e (transl. Barker): δεδόχθω μὲν δὴ, φαμέν, τὸ ἄτοπον τοῦτο, νόμους τὰς ᾠδὰς ἡμῖν γεγονέναι, καὶ καθάπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ τότε περὶ κιθαρωδῖαν οὕτω πως, ὥς ἔοικεν, ὠνόμασαν. We may compare this statement with the fanciful etymology of *choros* from *chara* (‘joy’), given by Plato at *Lg.* 654a ‘by derivation from the joy that is natural to them’ (i.e. the choruses).

30 *Lg.* 801d: νόμος ἡμῖν καὶ τύπος ἐκμαγεῖόν τε.

31 *Lg.* 801c.

32 *Lg.* 800e-801a (transl. Barker): ‘must not the kind of songs that we have be wholly well-omened in all respects?’.

33 Paus. 10, 7, 5 (transl. Frazer, slightly adapted): ‘They also discontinued the singing to the *aulos*, because they deemed that the music was inauspicious (οὐκ εἶναι τὸ ἄκουσμα εὐφημον). For the tunes were most doleful, and the words sung to them were dirges’.

34 *Lg.* 801a (transl. Barker).

35 *Lg.* 801c-d (transl. Barker).

the prayers and praises that are appropriate to them all'.³⁶ Here the basic selection of literary genres given in the *Republic* (hymns to the gods and *enkomia* of good men)³⁷ reappear, although they are now specifically addressed only to gods and similar figures, since—Plato says—‘it is not safe to honour those who are still living’.³⁸

Going into more technical details, it gradually appears that the most relevant rule that a musician should observe (as had already been stated in Book 2)³⁹ is ‘correctness’ in the selection and combination of the individual components of musical compositions. Later in Book 7 (802d-e), in fact, Plato affirms that ‘it will be essential for the lawgiver to distinguish in outline what are suitable songs for men and women respectively’, and to ‘match them appropriately to *harmoniai* and rhythms’, since—he continues—‘we must assign (by law, νομοθετεῖν) to both kind of songs (i.e., songs for men and women) the rhythms and *harmoniai* that are essentially bound to them’.⁴⁰

Indeed, ancient Greek conceptions of *melos* had always implied a reference to a combination of elements, which included word (*logos*), tune (*harmonia*) and rhythm (*rhythmos*).⁴¹ Given the mimetic nature of *mousikē* (so central in Plato’s thought) and its overall educational function (which makes the object of artistic *mimesis* of fundamental importance), the most meaningful component among them was, for Plato, the *logos* or verbal content.⁴² According to what we may infer from ancient sources, in fact, any kind of music in Greece—including instrumental music—was supposed to have a narrative or representational content, aiming at reproducing characters and dispositions of the soul.⁴³ Even Plato, though criticizing instrumental music, does not dismiss it as pure nonsense, clarifying however that, due to its lack of words, it is extremely difficult to identify what it represents or is trying to represent, since *auletikē* and *kitharistikē* are competitive *technai* which aim only at eliciting the audience’s

36 *Lg.* 801e (transl. Barker).

37 *R.* 607a.

38 *Lg.* 802a (transl. Barker).

39 *Lg.* 669c-d, on which see Rocconi 2012.

40 *Lg.* 802d-e (transl. Barker).

41 *Pl. R.* 398d.

42 *Pl. R.* 400d (transl. Barker): ‘Certainly it is they (*sc.* rhythm and *harmonia*) that must follow the words’. See also *Republic* Book 3, 397b (transl. Barker), where a shortage of *diēgēsis* is described as the worst quality of a poet: ‘and his diction—*sc.* of the second-rate poet—will consist entirely of imitations by voice and gesture, or will include just a smattering of narration (συμκρόν τι διηγήσεως)’.

43 Modern formalists, according to whom instrumental music has neither representational nor semantic content, would have certainly disagreed with this idea.

pleasure.⁴⁴ Maybe this explains why, in Book 3 of the *Laws* (669d ff.), he had spoken about the kitharodic *nomoi* as if they were the only existing kind, without mentioning the purely instrumental types or referring to them as *nomoi*.

[...] and further, the composers tear rhythm and posture away from melody, putting bare words into metres, setting melody and rhythm without words, and using the *kithara* and the *aulos* without the voice, a practice in which it is extremely difficult—since rhythm and harmonia occur with no words—to understand what is intended, and what worthwhile representation it is like. It is essential that we accept the principle that all such practices are utterly inartistic, if they are so enamoured of speed and precision and animal noises that they use the music of the *aulos* and the *kithara* for purposes other than the accompaniment of dance and song; the use of either by itself is characteristic of uncultured and vulgar showmanship.⁴⁵

The highly mimetic character of instrumental music, here very clearly described,⁴⁶ is also immediately apparent in the titles and contents of auletic and kitharistic *nomoi*,⁴⁷ the only kind of instrumental genres mentioned by the Greek sources. Among the kitharistic types, the *nomoi* of Zeus, of Athena and of Apollo are mentioned, while, among the auletic ones, we are informed about the *Polykephalos* (lit. ‘many-headed’, in honour of Apollo), the *Harmateios* (maybe so-called because it described musically ‘the acute and hastening route of the chariot’ or its ‘acute and thin sound’),⁴⁸ the *nomoi* of Ares and that of Athena. The most famous of this latter group was the so-called

44 Grg. 501d-e: τὴν ἡδονὴν [...] μόνον διώκειν.

45 Pl. *Lg.* 669d-670a (transl. Barker): [...] καὶ ἔτι διασπῶσιν οἱ ποιηταὶ ῥυθμὸν μὲν καὶ σχήματα μέλους χωρὶς, λόγους ψιλοὺς εἰς μέτρα τιθέντες, μέλος δ' αὖ καὶ ῥυθμὸν ἄνευ ῥημάτων, ψιλῇ κιθαρίσει τε καὶ αὐλήσει προσχρώμενοι, ἐν οἷς δὴ παγγάλεπον ἄνευ λόγου γιγνόμενον ῥυθμὸν τε καὶ ἁρμονίαν γιγνώσκουσιν ὅτι τε βούλεται καὶ ὅτῳ ἔοικε τῶν ἀξιολόγων μιμημάτων· ἀλλὰ ὑπολαβεῖν ἀναγκαῖον ὅτι τὸ τοιοῦτόν γε πολλῆς ἀγροικίας μεστὸν πᾶν, ὅποσον τάχους τε καὶ ἀπταισίας καὶ φωνῆς θηριώδους σφόδρα φίλον ὥστ' αὐλήσει γε χρῆσθαι καὶ κιθαρίσει πλὴν ὅσον ὑπὸ ὀρχησίν τε καὶ ὥδῃν, ψιλῶ δ' ἐκατέρῳ πᾶσά τις ἀμουσία καὶ θαυματουργία γίγνεται ἂν τῆς χρήσεως.

46 Cf. Arist. *De an.* 420b 5 ff., according to which a sound (ψόφος) may have ‘voice’ (φωνή) if it has a meaning (σημαντικός γὰρ δὴ τις ψόφος ἐστὶν ἡ φωνή), that is, as far as I understand this passage, if it has a representational value. A voice belongs to something alive, but also the *aulos* and the *lyra* may have voice—he continues—by way of a metaphor (καθ' ὁμοιότητα), if they are capable of prolongation (ἀπότασιν), melody (μέλος) and articulation (διάλεκτον).

47 Poll. 4, 66; Ps.-Plut. *Mus.* 1133d-e; *ibid.* 1141b; *ibid.* 1143b-c.

48 *EM* 145, 25 ff. On the *Harmateios nomos*, see Almazova 2014.

Pythikos nomos—of which also a kitharistic version was later realized—whose content was a representation (*dēlōma*, lit. ‘showing’, ‘display’) of the battle of Apollo against the serpent, each part being mimetically connected with a different stage of the contest.⁴⁹

Indeed, instrumental music had its own specific ways of realizing a narrative content. Firstly, through the appropriate usage of specific rhythms and *harmoniai*: see, for instance, the section called *iambikon* in the *Pythikos nomos*, in which the idea of the battle was probably realized, for the most part, just through such a prodding rhythm.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, to fully achieve this objective, rhythms and scales—as suggested by Plato—had not only to be opportunistically selected (since ‘it was not permitted to use one type of melody for the purpose of another’, he says at 700a-b) but also to be suitably combined, so that their individual representational contents were consistent with each other. Secondly, the narrative substance of a musical composition could be fulfilled through some mechanical devices (like, for instance, the so-called *syrinx* of the *aulos*, a kind of speaker-hole producing very high harmonics, used in the *Pythikos nomos* to imitate the hisses of the expiring snake);⁵¹ or, alternatively, through some special playing techniques like the *odontismos*, in which the *glōtta* was pushed against the teeth in order to reproduce the serpent’s teeth grinding.⁵² The *Pythikos nomos* thus provides an outstanding example of the manner in which instrumental *nomoi* could tell a story, and a specimen of how their representational content could improve the association of each *nomos* with the specific divinity to whom it was addressed. It is very likely that also the other *nomoi* described mythical episodes related to the divinities involved. Therefore these contest pieces had a specific cultic function not only thanks to the religious context of their performance (i.e., the specific festival in honour of this or that god), but also by virtue of the semantic content which each of them was supposed to convey.

If we now go back to Plato’s *Laws*, most of his rules on *mousikē* no longer appear merely censorious, as has generally been supposed. The remarks (appearing at the end of his list) on the need, for all the elements of a musical composition to be consistent with one another, and to fit into a particular genre ‘by law’, are assertions intended to reinforce the representational power of music, most obvious and meaningful when there is a verbal text (as in vocal

49 Poll. 4, 84; Strab. 9, 3, 10. On the *Pythikos nomos*, see Pöhlmann 2010–2011.

50 Poll. 4, 84: ἐν δὲ τῷ κατακελευσμῷ προκαλεῖται τὸν δράκοντα, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἱαμβικῷ μάχεται. On *iambikon* in the *Pythikos nomos*, see Rotstein 2009, ch. 4.

51 Cf. Hagel 2010–2011 and Rocconi 2014.

52 On Plato’s explicit condemnation of this kind of mimetic effect, see R. 397a–b.

music) but implicitly assumed also in instrumental genres (which however, in his opinion, should be avoided, since their semantic content is difficult to detect: hence it is inappropriate to call them *nomoi*, because in no way can they be ‘rules’ to obey). The etymological connection between special categories of musical compositions—the kitharodic *nomoi*—and the inviolability of their regulations (in strict connection with their religious aims) fits smoothly, then, within Plato’s reasoning on artistic *mimēsis*. But, taken too literally, it may be easily misinterpreted, as if it were a historical account of ancient musical practices; and this leads to a distorted image of old-time *mousikē*.

Platonic Influence on Later Sources

Moving to later sources, we may notice that the Platonic tendency to make the kitharodic *nomoi* rather prescriptive and etymologically linked to the normative sense of the word was followed in the Peripatetic tradition too. In Book 19 of the *Problemata*, the author describes the kitharodic *nomoi* as a professional and highly mimetic genre: ‘*nomoi* were pieces for competitors and, since they were able to perform imitatively and to sustain lengthy exertions, their song became long and multiform [...] like the words, then, the melodies followed the imitation in being continually varied. There was even greater need for imitation in melody than in words.’⁵³ After this statement, the author offers a piece of linguistic reasoning which echoes Plato’s concerns in Book 7 of the *Laws*, trying to trace back the origin of the term to the legislative domain:

Why are the *nomoi* that people sing, called by that name? Is it because before they learned writing they sang their laws, so as not to forget them, as is the custom even now among the Agathyrsi (i.e., a people of Scythian origin)? And they therefore gave to the first (or most important) of their later songs the same name that they gave to their first songs.⁵⁴

53 Pr. 19, 15 (transl. Barker): οἱ μὲν νόμοι ἀγωνιστῶν ἦσαν, ὧν ἤδη μιμεῖσθαι δυναμένων καὶ διατείνεσθαι ἢ ᾧ δὴ ἐγίνετο μακρὰ καὶ πολυειδής [...] καθάπερ οὖν καὶ τὰ ῥήματα, καὶ τὰ μέλη τῇ μιμήσει ἠκολούθει αἰεὶ ἕτερα γινόμενα. μάλλον γὰρ τῷ μέλει ἀνάγκη μιμεῖσθαι ἢ τοῖς ῥήμασιν.

54 Pr. 19, 28 (transl. Barker): διὰ τί νόμοι καλοῦνται οὕς ᾄδουσιν; ἢ ὅτι πρὶν ἐπίστασθαι γράμματα, ἦδον τοὺς νόμους, ὅπως μὴ ἐπιλάθωνται, ὥσπερ ἐν Ἀγαθύρσοις ἔτι εἰώθασιν; καὶ τῶν ὑστέρων οὖν ᾄδῶν τὰς πρώτας τὸ αὐτὸ ἐκάλεσαν ὅπερ τὰς πρώτας (on the fictionality of this passage, see also Rutherford 2013, 77). Cf. Pl. *Lg.* 799e (transl. Barker): ‘the strange (*atopon*) fact should be accepted that our songs have become *nomoi* [‘laws’] for us, just as in ancient times people gave this name, so it appears, to songs sung to the *kithara*’.

Plato's arguments also find an explicit and clearly identifiable echo in one of the most important surviving sources that we have on musical *nomoi*: Ps-Plutarch's *De musica*. Within this dialogue, which relies to a great extent on quotations and paraphrases of much earlier sources,⁵⁵ we may read in Lysias' words (one of the two main speakers of the fictional table-talk) the famous definition of *nomos* as a musical genre which had to conform to its own fixed patterns:

In the old days *kithara* songs were not allowed to be performed as they are now, or to include modulations of *harmoniai* and rhythms, since in each *nomos* the pitch which belonged to it was maintained throughout. This is why these pieces were given their name: they were called "*nomoi*" because deviation from the form of pitching established for each type was not permitted.⁵⁶

It is generally thought that this definition (which will be echoed in sources for centuries: the *Suda* lexicon still defines the *nomos* as "the style of song with a prescribed *harmonia* and a determinate rhythm")⁵⁷ and the comments preceding it⁵⁸ are based on material of the Platonist Heraclides of Pontus (fourth cent. BC), author of a *Collection of [unspecified items] in music* (Συναγωγή τῶν ἐν μουσικῇ)⁵⁹ which is the main source for the entire section of the dialogue concerned with the topic of musical *nomoi* (including the quotations of Glaucus of Rhegium,⁶⁰ to be interpreted as 'second-hand' quotations).

55 On the identification and discussion of the main sources of this text, see especially Barker 2014.

56 Ps.-Plut. *Mus.* 1133b-c (transl. Barker): οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν τὸ παλαιὸν οὕτως ποιεῖσθαι τὰς κιθαρῳδίας ὥς νῦν οὐδὲ μεταφέρειν τὰς ἀρμονίας καὶ τοὺς ῥυθμούς· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς νόμοις ἐκάστω διετήρουν τὴν οἰκείαν τάσιν. διὸ καὶ ταύτην <τὴν> ἐπωνυμίαν εἶχον· νόμοι γὰρ προσηγορεύθησαν, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐξῆν παραβῆναι <τὸ> καθ' ἑκάστον νενομισμένον εἶδος τῆς τάσεως.

57 *Suda* n 478: 'the type of melody for cithara-playing, having this harmony and a specified rhythm. There were seven such [nomoi defined] by Terpander, of which one is 'orthios', 'tetradios', and shrill. [...]']' (transl. Greenberg).

58 Ps.-Plut. *Mus.* 1133a-b (transl. Barker): 'In general, the style of singing to the *kithara* employed by Terpander continued in a quite simple form down to the time of Phrynis. In the old days *kithara* songs were not allowed to be performed as they are now, or to include modulations of *harmoniai* and rhythms, since in each *nomos* the pitch which belonged to it was maintained throughout [...].'

59 According to Barker 2014 (31), some possible ways of supplementing Heraclides' title are 'Collection of *people who were eminent* in music' or 'Collection of *discoveries* in music'.

60 He lived in the late fifth century BC, and was author of a work titled *On the ancient poets and musicians* (Περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν τε καὶ μουσικῶν), on which see Pöhlmann 2011 and Barker 2014 (esp. 33 ff.).

The Platonic influence on Heraclides' words is plainly evident, especially concerning two points. Firstly, his remarks are concerned *only* with *kitharōidia*, like Plato's remarks in Book 3 of the *Laws*.⁶¹ It is interesting to notice that also Aristotle, in the *Poetics*, terms as *nomoi* only the kitharodic forms (1447b 26: [... ὥσπερ ἡ τε τῶν διθυραμβικῶν ποιήσεις καὶ ἡ τῶν νόμων]), although explicitly talking about the arts of *auletikē* and *kitharistikē*.⁶² The same may be said for subsequent sources—including Proclus, whose account in the *Chrestomathia*⁶³ is the longest surviving on the *nomos* from late antiquity—, if we exclude of course the Pseudo-Plutarch (whose terminology, however, may be brought back to its fourth-century source). Secondly, the specific reference to the impossibility of 'deviation from the form of pitching (*εἶδος τῆς τάσεως*) established for each type' seems to echo almost verbatim Plato's statement in Book 3: 'With these types (*εἶδη*) and various others properly distinguished, it was not permitted (*οὐκ ἐξήν*) to use one type of melody for the purpose of another (*ἄλλο εἰς ἄλλο καταχρησθαι μέλους εἶδος*).'⁶⁴

So, given the absolute lack of references to the 'strictness' of the *nomos* structure or to its direct derivation from the word's sense of 'law' in pre-Platonic evidence, we may reasonably assume that the descriptions (or, rather, prescriptions) that we find in post-Platonic sources on this musical genre—directly equated with the solo-song accompanied by the *kithara*—are strongly based on Plato's remarks in the *Laws*. One indication of this may be also the usage of the word *paranomia* in Ps.-Plut. *Mus.* 1132d-e,⁶⁵ directly borrowed by Heraclides—so it seems—from Plato *Lg.* 700d ff., where the lawlessness in music is said to have opened the way to the rejection of the state's laws.⁶⁶ Still

61 Barker 2014, 35 ff., opportunely points out that, on the basis of information included in this part of *De musica*, we may infer that, for the Platonist Heraclides, the primary and original form of Greek music was just *kitharōidia*, while Glaucus, by contrast, gave the most important position to the *aulos* tradition.

62 *Po.* 1447a 21 ff. (transl. Halliwell, slightly adapted): '[...] so in the case of all the arts mentioned above mimesis is effected in the media of rhythm, language and melody. But these can be employed separately or in combination, as follows: the arts of the pipe (*αὐλητική*) and kithara (*κιθαριστική*), and any other arts with a similar potential, such as that of the pan-pipes, use melody and rhythm alone [...]'].

63 Procl. *Chr. apud Phot.* 320a-b (on which see Rutherford 1995).

64 *Pl. Lg.* 700b (transl. Barker).

65 *Mus.* 1132d-e: Τιμόθεος [...] τοὺς γοῦν πρῶτους νόμους ἐν ἔπεσι διαμειγνύνων διθυραμβικὴν λέξιν ἦδεν, ὅπως μὴ εὐθὺς φανῇ παρανομῶν εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν μουσικὴν.

66 *Lg.* 700d 3 ff.: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου, ἄρχοντες μὲν τῆς ἀμούσου παρανομίας ποιηταὶ ἐγίγνοντο φύσει μὲν ποιητικοί, ἀγνώμονες δὲ περὶ τὸ δίκαιον τῆς Μούσης καὶ τὸ νόμιμον [...]. τοιαῦτα δὲ ποιοῦντες ποιήματα, λόγους τε ἐπιλέγοντες τοιούτους, τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐνέθεσαν

in the Suda the dithyrambic poet Kinesias, one of the most criticized representatives of the so-called 'New Music', is said to have become notorious precisely for his *asebeia* and *paranomia*.⁶⁷

Of course this distorted image of an alleged conservatism in old-time music (and a politically subversive power in 'modern' music) found an explicit support in other late fifth and fourth century BC pieces of evidence, since a growing 'old'/'new' dichotomy concerning music styles is undeniable in this period⁶⁸ (for many reasons, only in part strictly musical).⁶⁹ But there is no doubt that the remarks throughout the *Laws*—whose normative character should be interpreted, as we have seen, against the backdrop of Plato's mimetic theory, hence softening their authoritative tone—had a strong influence on the musical and literary critics of the following centuries, providing the critics with a law-based terminology which enabled them to describe and interpret musical phenomena as markers for political changes.⁷⁰

Hints on New Trends in Music before 'New Music'

Evidence on new trends in music may in fact be provided long before Plato's apparent call for a ban on *paranomia* in music. An interesting catalogue of some of them is introduced by the other speaker of the pseudo-Plutarchean *De musica*, whose name is Soterichus: 'My friend, someone might say, are you suggesting that the men of the old times made no discoveries and innovations at all?'.⁷¹ The answer is certainly 'no' ('I agree that fresh discoveries were made',

παρανομίαν εἰς τὴν μουσικὴν καὶ τόλμαν ὡς ἱκανοῖς οὖσιν κρίνειν· [...] νῦν δὲ ἤρξε μὲν ἡμῖν ἐκ μουσικῆς ἢ πάντων εἰς πάντα σοφίας δόξα καὶ παρανομία, συνεφέσπετο δὲ ἐλευθερία. Cf. *R.* 424d (transl. Shorey): 'It is here, then, I said, in music, as it seems, that our guardians must build their guard-house and post of watch. It is certain, he said, that this is the kind of *lawlessness* (*παρανομία*) that easily insinuates itself unobserved. Yes, said I, because it is supposed to be only a form of play and to work no harm'.

67 Suda *k* 1639: Κινησίας· ὄνομα κύριον. οὗτος ἐπ' ἀσεβείᾳ καὶ παρανομίᾳ διετεθρύλλητο. ἦν δὲ διθυραμβοποιός.

68 In Eupolis fr. 326 K.-A., one of the character asks: 'Okay, do you want to hear the present-day pattern of song (τὴν <νῦν> διάθεσιν ᾠδῆς), or the old style (τὸν ἀρχαῖον τρόπον)?' (transl. West).

69 On the growing oppositional polarization between ancient and modern style of music in the late fifth century BC, see D'Angour 2006 and, more generally, D'Angour 2011.

70 On the social aspects of the 'New Music' phenomenon, see especially Wallace 1995, Wilson 1999, Csapo 2004 and D'Angour 2006 (esp. 270 ff.).

71 Ps.-Plut. *Mus.* 1140f (transl. Barker). On this part of the dialogue, see Barker 2014 (esp. 100 ff.).

he says) and, from this statement onwards, he lists characters and phenomena supporting his position,⁷² even if—he adds—such musical discoveries were still characterized by ‘dignity and propriety’ (*meta tou semnou kai preontos*), and hence should not be considered as law-breaking.

One of the most interesting remarks in this passage is the one concerned with the musician Lasus of Hermione (late sixth cent. BC), mentioned immediately before controversial composers such as Melanippides, Philoxenos and Timotheos. Lasus is said to have transformed (εἰς μετάθεσιν . . . ἤγαγε) the music that existed before him ‘by altering the rhythms for the movement of the dithyramb,’⁷³ and by pursuing the example of the multiplicity of notes belonging to the *aulos* (τῇ τῶν αὐλῶν πολυφωνίᾳ), and so making use of more notes, widely scattered about.⁷⁴

These comments (most probably derived from Aristoxenos, the other main source of the Pseudo-Plutarchean dialogue) are certainly problematic: they have been interpreted in various ways and I do not want to go now into the details of the debate.⁷⁵ But, all in all, they may contribute to proving that the *polyphōnia* of the *aulos* was not a sudden invention of Pronomos of Thebes and his followers, given that Pindar too—in the early fifth century BC—frequently alluded to the multiplicity of sounds produced by the *aulos*, described as *pamphōnos* in his verses (*O.* 7, 12; *P.* 12, 19; *I.* 5, 27).⁷⁶ The *panharmonia* of wind instruments, criticized by Plato in the *Republic* and usually connected with the so-called ‘New Music’ revolution, has then strong precedents, and the same may be said for the majority of technicalities attributed to New Music style which, as recent scholarship has well illustrated, had been gradually developing since (at least) the late sixth century BC.⁷⁷

In conclusion, we may state that in the *Laws* Plato exploited the ambiguity of the term *nomos* with the purpose of emphasizing the need to select and suitably combine the musical components of different music genres, so that they could best express their mimetic contents, and of steering them towards

72 Terpander, originator of melodies called *skolia*; Archilochus, who devised an additional pattern of rhythmic composition and many other novelties; Olympus, inventor of the enharmonic genus; and so on.

73 Cf. Kowalzig-Wilson 2013, 13: “[...] dithyramb’s controversial propensity to change, and its declared self-awareness of its own change, are not something that began with the New Musicians, but are present throughout”.

74 Ps.-Plut. *Mus.* 1141c (transl. Barker): Λάσος δ’ ὁ Ἑρμιονεὺς εἰς τὴν διθυραμβικὴν ἀγωγὴν μεταστήσας τοὺς ῥυθμούς, καὶ τῇ τῶν αὐλῶν πολυφωνίᾳ κατακολουθήσας, πλείοσι τε φθόγγοις καὶ διερριμμένοις χρησάμενος, εἰς μετάθεσιν τὴν προὔπαρχουσαν ἤγαγε μουσικὴν.

75 Cf., among others, Barker 2002, 54 ff.; Prauscello 2012, 63 ff.; Prauscello 2013, 89 ff.

76 D’Angour 1997; Prauscello 2012.

77 Barker 2002, 54 ff.; Barker 2014 (esp. 97 ff.); D’Angour 2006; D’Angour 2011.

the best models. In doing this, he focused on the emblematic value of the kitharodic *nomos*, suggesting a picture of the music of the past which was highly fictional and in some ways altered the historical truth. The normative character of the musical *nomoi* became, then, an established concept for the musical and literary critics of the following centuries, who continued to rely on Plato's accounts in order to construct the image of a hypothetical golden-age of ancient Greek music.⁷⁸

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78 A preliminary version of this paper was delivered at the workshop titled *Plato as Literary Critic*, held in München at the Centre for Advanced Studies of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in July 2014. I would like to thank the organizer, Theodora Hadjimichael, and all the participants in the event for their kind comments and suggestions.

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Aristoxenus *Harm.* II, 49.1-50.18 Da Rios *A Recantation*

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Abstract

The article reconsiders questions about the identity of the notation to which Aristoxenus refers at *Harm.* II, 49.1 ff. In previous publications I had drawn attention to difficulties in identifying it as the familiar ‘Alypian’ notation, and here I try to answer the objections I had raised to that hypothesis. If my answers are adequate, the notation could indeed be the Alypian one, but I also consider the possibility that it might be another form of notation, known only from a passage of Aristides Quintilianus. The target of Aristoxenus’ comments could be either of these two notations; or perhaps he intended his remarks to apply to both of them equally.

Keywords

Aristoxenus – ancient Greek musical notations – *harmonikoi*

Our political masters are often reluctant to admit their past mistakes, assuming, I suppose, that to do so would undermine their authority. But it’s reasonable to expect academic scholars to adopt a different attitude, one that values the pursuit of truth more highly than any defence of their own oracular status. We all make mistakes, and from time to time we may change our views about knotty issues. As time passes and our publications multiply, so, most probably, do our errors and shifts of opinion; and in order to reduce the risk that those who read our writings will be misled, we should, I suggest, take the trouble to record at least the more important of them in print. It is in that spirit that I offer the following remarks.¹

¹ A short version of them was included in a paper presented at the 10th Moisa Symposium on Ancient Greek and Roman Music, Riva del Garda, 6-11 July 2015. Unfortunately

(49.) "Α δέ τινες ποιοῦνται τέλη τῆς ἀρμονικῆς καλουμένης
 πραγματείας οἱ μὲν τὸ παρασημαίνεσθαι τὰ μέλη φάσκοντες
 πέρας εἶναι τοῦ ξυνιέναι τῶν μελωδουμένων ἕκαστον, οἱ δὲ
 τὴν περὶ τοὺς αὐλοὺς θεωρίαν καὶ τὸ ἔχειν εἰπεῖν τίνα
 τρόπον ἕκαστα τῶν αὐλουμένων καὶ πόθεν γίγνεται· τὸ (5)
 δὴ ταῦτα λέγειν παντελῶς ἐστὶν ὅλου τινὸς διημαρτηκό-
 τος. οὐ γὰρ ὅτι πέρας τῆς ἀρμονικῆς ἐπιστήμης ἐστὶν ἢ
 παρασημαντική, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέρος οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῆς
 μετρικῆς τὸ γράψασθαι τῶν μέτρων ἕκαστον· εἰ δ' ὥσπερ
 ἐπὶ τούτων οὐκ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι τὸν δυνάμενον γράψασθαι (10)
 τὸ ἱαμβικὸν <μέτρον καὶ ἄριστά γε εἰδέναι τί ἐστὶ τὸ
 ἱαμβικόν>, οὕτως ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μελωδουμένων—οὐ
 γὰρ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι τὸν γραψάμενον τὸ φρύγιον μέλος καὶ
 ἄριστά γε εἰδέναι τί ἐστὶ τὸ φρύγιον μέλος—, δηλὸν ὅτι
 οὐκ ἂν εἴη τῆς εἰρημένης ἐπιστήμης πέρας ἢ παρασημαν- (15)
 τική. ὅτι δ' ἀληθὴ τὰ λεγόμενά ἐστιν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον τῷ
 παρασημαιομένῳ μόνον τὰ μεγέθη τῶν διαστημάτων διαι-
 σθάνεσθαι, φανερόν γένοιτ' ἂν ἐπισκοπούμενοις. ὁ γὰρ τι-
 θέμενος σημεῖα τῶν διαστημάτων οὐ καθ' ἑκάστην τῶν ἐνυ-
 παρχουσῶν αὐτοῖς διαφορῶν ἴδιον τίθεται σημεῖον, οἷον εἰ (20)
 (50.) τοῦ διὰ τεσσάρων τυγχάνουσιν αἱ διαιρέσεις οὖσαι πλεί-
 ους ἅς ποιοῦσιν αἱ τῶν γενῶν διαφοραί, ἢ σχήματα
 πλείονα <ᾧ> ποιεῖ ἢ τῆς τῶν ἀσυνθέτων διαστημάτων
 τάξεως ἀλλοίωσις· τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ λόγον καὶ περὶ τῶν
 δυνάμεων ἐροῦμεν ἅς αἱ τῶν τετραχόρδων φύσεις ποιοῦσι, (5)
 τὸ γὰρ ὑπερβολαίας <νήτης> καὶ νήτης καὶ <τό> μέσης καὶ
 ὑπάτης τῷ αὐτῷ γράφεται σημείῳ, τὰς δὲ τῶν δυνάμεων
 διαφορὰς οὐ διορίζει τὰ σημεῖα <ὥστε> μέχρι τῶν μεγε-
 θῶν αὐτῶν κείσθαι, πορρωτέρω δὲ μηδέν. ὅτι δ' οὐδέν
 ἐστὶ μέρος τῆς συμπάσης ξυνέσεως τὸ διαισθάνεσθαι τῶν (10)
 μεγεθῶν αὐτῶν, ἐλέχθη μὲν πως καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ, ῥάδιον δὲ
 καὶ ἐκ τῶν ῥηθησομένων συνιδεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ τὰς τῶν τε-
 τραχόρδων οὔτε τὰς τῶν φθόγγων δυνάμεις οὔτε τὰς τῶν
 γενῶν διαφορὰς οὔτε, ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, τὰς τῶν συνθέτων καὶ
 τὰς τῶν ἀσυνθέτων διαφορὰς οὔτε τὸ ἀπλοῦν καὶ μετα- (15)
 βολὴν ἔχον οὔτε τοὺς τῶν μελοποιῶν τρόπους οὔτ' ἄλλο
 οὐδέν, ὡσαύτως εἰπεῖν, δι' αὐτῶν τῶν μεγεθῶν γίγνεται
 γνῶριμον.

[49] As to the objective that people assign to the science called harmonics, some say that it consists in notating the melodies, claiming that this is the limit of the comprehension of each of the things that are melodically performed, while others locate it in the study of *auloi*, and in the ability to say in what manner and from what origin each of the things played on the *aulos* arises. But to say these things is a sign of complete misunderstanding. So far from being the limit of harmonic science, notation [*parasēmantikē*] is not even a part of it, unless writing down metres is also a part of the science of metre. But if what applies there—that a person who can write down the iambic metre is not necessarily the one who best understands what the iambic really is—applies also to melodies (for a person who has written down the Phrygian *melos* is not necessarily the one who best understands what the Phrygian *melos* really is), then it is clear that notation cannot be the limit of the science in question. That what we have said is true, and that the practitioner of notation needs nothing more than a perceptual grasp of the sizes of intervals, will be clear to those who investigate the matter. A person who sets out symbols to indicate intervals does not use a special symbol for each of the distinctions which exist among intervals—for instance [50] if there are several divisions of the fourth produced by the differences between the genera, or if there are several arrangements produced by alteration in the order of the incomposite intervals. We shall say the same thing about the functions [*dynameis*] which the natures of the tetrachords create, since the interval from *nētē hyperbolaiōn* to *nētē* and that from *mesē* to *hypatē* are written with the same symbol, and the symbols do not distinguish the differences in their functions; so that their scope extends only to the sizes [*sc.* of the intervals], and no further. But we said at the beginning that the mere discrimination of the sizes by the senses is no part of a complete understanding of the subject, and what we are about to say will make the fact even easier to see. For through the sizes as such, no knowledge is forthcoming of the functions of either the tetrachords or the notes, or of the distinctions between the genera, or, to put it briefly, of the distinctions between the composite and the incomposite, of the simple and the modulating, of the styles of melodic composition or, in a word, of anything else at all (Aristox. *Harm.* II, 49.1-50.18 Da Rios).²

2 Translation from Barker 1989, slightly modified. (Note also that in that volume I referred to passages by the page and line numbers of Meibom's edition, not those of Da Rios. In Meibom's pagination the passage is 39.4-40.23.)

The quotation comes from the beginning of a long and pungent critique of two opinions about the purpose or goal of harmonics, its τέλος (the passage as a whole runs from 49.1 to 54.10). One of them, which Aristoxenus attributes, later in the text, to ‘the people called *harmonikoi*’ (51.1), is that we have reached the goal when we have learned how to write melodies in a notation, παρασημαίνεσθαι.³ The other, whose proponents he does not explicitly identify, is that it consists in understanding about *auloi*, and ‘being able to say how, and from what source, each of the things played on the *auloi* arises’. Aristoxenus asserts immediately that these opinions are completely mistaken: τὸ δὴ ταῦτα λέγειν παντελῶς ἐστὶν ὅλου τινὸς διημαρτηκότος (49.5-7), and he presents a barrage of criticisms directed against each of them in turn. The length and rhetorical vigour of his treatments suggests that he thought it was very important to demonstrate that they are wrong and why they are wrong; and that seems to imply that they were current and influential among theorists or musicians of the period. I know of no other evidence that points in the same direction, but why else would he bother to attack them so vigorously and at such length?

Here I am concerned only with his comments on the subject of notation, and in fact with only one aspect of those comments. The passage I have quoted is only the first part of Aristoxenus’ assault on them, which continues to 52.4, but it completes his attempt to demolish the substance of his opponents’ views, and I need say nothing about the remainder. (There he speculates about why these people chose to promote an idea which is so patently absurd, and suggests that it was either because they were profoundly ignorant or because of a ‘gross perversity in their method’.) His first substantial contention is that a person’s capacity to represent ‘the iambic metre’ or ‘the Phrygian *melos*’ in a written form is no guarantee that they understand what these things are (49.7-16),⁴ and hence παρασημαντική cannot possibly be the ultimate goal or ‘limit’ (πέρας) of the science in question. If ‘science’ (ἐπιστήμη) involves understanding, as for Aristoxenus it certainly does, this seems a fair point, and it could be generalised: someone with the appropriate skills might, for instance,

3 This cannot refer to the activity of composing a piece of music by writing out the score; we have no evidence that any composer in antiquity worked in that way. The skill that these *harmonikoi* prize so highly is that of writing out a melody that one has heard or is hearing.

4 It is not altogether clear how we should construe the phrase τὸ φρύγιον μέλος here. Stefan Hagel has suggested (Hagel 2009, 246) that we should read instead τι φρύγιον μέλος, ‘a Phrygian melody’, that is, any such melody to which we happen to be listening. But as an anonymous reader points out, τὸ φρύγιον μέλος is directly parallel to τὸ ἰαμβικὸν <μέτρον> at 49.11, and if the indefinite sense were intended the most natural turn of phrase would be φρύγιόν τι μέλος. We should probably preserve the transmitted reading.

be able to make a phonetic transcription of a sentence spoken in a foreign language without having any idea of what it means.

We now come to the crucial passage. Aristoxenus asserts that the truth of what he has said would become clear to anyone who investigates the matter. So too, he says, would the related fact that a person who writes out a melody in a notation needs nothing more than the ability to 'perceive the sizes of the intervals'.⁵ What follows is designed to elaborate and confirm this thesis, and to draw attention to the very many essential features of melodies and their components which cannot be inferred from a mere grasp of their intervals' sizes. Thus his argument has two main components, (a) that the ability to identify the sizes of intervals by means of sense-perception is the only qualification called for by the business of notating a melody,⁶ and (b) that the capacity to identify these sizes 'themselves', or 'as such' (αὐτῶν τῶν μεγεθῶν, 50.17)—that is, to recognise them as fourths, fifths or whatever—brings with it no knowledge or understanding of a large number of other features of melodies which belong to the harmonic scientist's agenda. In fact, Aristoxenus seems to say, virtually nothing that is relevant to harmonics can be extracted from knowledge of the intervals' sizes (50.16-17); and it is therefore ridiculous to suppose that we have reached the goal of the science when we have learned to set down melodies in a notation.

Evidently both (a) and (b) are essential to Aristoxenus' argument. Without (a), his second contention, (b), will have no purchase on the issue. Similarly, (a) will not undermine the position of these *harmonikoi* without the help of (b). In the case of (b), some of what it says is uncontroversially true. For instance, from the mere fact that the interval between two adjacent notes in a melody amounts to a perfect fourth (or 2½ tones, as Aristoxenus construes it), we can obviously infer nothing about the arrangement of the smaller intervals which implicitly subdivide it in the current melodic context (49.20-50.4). Grounds for the less obvious aspects of (b) can be found in the *El. harm.* itself; the details are unnecessary here. But Aristoxenus makes no attempt, here or elsewhere, to provide us with evidence for the truth of (a) by explaining the workings of the notational system; he merely says that it 'will be clear to those who investigate the matter' (49.18). In order to decide what kind of system he has in mind,

5 The compound verb used here, διαισθάνεσθαι, should perhaps be taken to mean more than just 'perceive': 'perceive thoroughly' or 'accurately'.

6 One might object that another necessary qualification is an adequate knowledge of the notational symbols themselves. But presumably Aristoxenus thought this so obvious that it did not need to be mentioned.

which is my main objective here, we need to look carefully both at what he says about it, and at the forms of words in which he refers to it and its components. We can then try to work out what features a notational system characterised in this way must possess.

Consider the following points. First, we have the general thesis that in order to gain the ability to notate a melody, you need only acquire the capacity to identify, by ear, the size of any interval you hear. Secondly, at no point in the passage does Aristoxenus even hint that each of the notational symbols identifies a particular note; on the contrary, he calls them *σημεία τῶν διαστημάτων*, 'symbols of the intervals' (49.19), which appears to mean something like 'symbols used to indicate intervals'. Thirdly, at 50.6-7 he asserts that two specified intervals, each of which spans a fourth, are both 'written with the same symbol', τῷ αὐτῷ γράφεται σημεῖω. The fact that the noun is in the singular plainly implies that a single symbol serves to identify an interval, whereas in a notation in which the symbols designate notes it would be necessary to use two, one for each of the interval's boundaries.

These indications strongly encourage the conclusion that the notational system to which Aristoxenus is referring was an 'intervallic' notation in which each symbol designated an interval of a certain size. It cannot, on this view, have been one in which the symbols designated notes, and specifically it cannot have been the so-called 'Alypian' notation,⁷ despite the fact that the latter is used in all the surviving scores, and that there is no trace of an unambiguously 'intervallic' system anywhere else in the ancient sources. That is a view that I have defended in previous publications,⁸ pointing out in addition that the Alypian notation does not in fact reveal the sizes of all the intervals bounded by the notes it indicates; it does not distinguish the different sizes of the *pykna* in enharmonic and chromatic, nor does it show which variant or 'shade' (*χρῶα*) of a genus the composer intended.

Few other scholars, if any, shared my view. A lucid Alypian interpretation of the passage had already been published by Egert Pöhlmann in 1988;⁹ Martin West adopted the same position;¹⁰ and their conclusions were in line with

7 So named because although its origins go back to the 5th century BCE (see West 1992a, 36-42; 1992b, 259-63), the fullest surviving exposition of it is in a series of tables set out in the *Introduction to Music* of a certain Alypius, perhaps in the 4th or 5th century CE.

8 First (but with qualifications) in Barker 1989, 156 n. 46; more recently and elaborately, and with more confidence, in Barker 2007, 61-6.

9 Pöhlmann 1988, 74-6.

10 West 1992b, 263-4.

those of almost all previous commentators.¹¹ In a review of one of my books, Stefan Hagel pointed out ways in which at least some of my objections to an Alypian reading of the passage can be answered;¹² and from time to time I have debated the matter with both Pöhlmann and Hagel in seminars and private conversations. Neither side conceded defeat, and though I agreed that—with a little ingenuity—some of the most obtrusive difficulties facing their interpretation could be avoided, and that mine had some seriously awkward consequences, I stubbornly persisted in my heretical view.¹³

My main reason for doing so was not one of those I have so far mentioned, and it was one which—as it seemed to me—my friendly opponents had not succeeded in undermining. This is how I put it in a previous publication. ‘It is not true of the Alypian system that it fails to reveal all the features about which, according to Aristoxenus, the theorists’ notation tells us nothing. A glance at any modern analysis of one of the surviving musical scores will show that scholars can confidently identify its individual notes, its tetrachords, its genus, . . . the points at which it modulates, and so on, none of which could be done on the basis of the notation to which Aristoxenus refers.’¹⁴ All that is true, but I now see that far from being a fatal objection to an Alypian interpretation of this notation, it does nothing at all to shake its credentials. Let’s remind ourselves, first, of the claim that Aristoxenus is attacking: ‘As to the objective that people assign to the science called harmonics, some say that it consists in notating the melodies, claiming that this is the limit of the comprehension of each of the things that are melodically performed’ (49.1-3). Next, consider some of the remarks he directs against this thesis in the opening phase of his critique. ‘A person who has written down the Phrygian *melos* is not necessarily the one who best understands what the Phrygian *melos* really is’ (49.12-14). ‘That what we have said is true, and that the practitioner of notation needs nothing more than a perceptual grasp of the sizes of intervals, will be clear to

11 The most significant exception of whom I am aware is Henri Potiron. Though I would never have agreed with all his contentions, the view for which he argues (Potiron 1964) is recognisably similar to the one I adopted. (On one point he was certainly mistaken; his claim (pp. 224-5) that the Alypian notation was not devised until the 3rd century BCE, and was therefore unknown in the time of Aristoxenus, has been conclusively demolished by later research; see especially West (n. 7 above).)

12 Hagel 2009, 246.

13 In previous publications I have also suggested the possibility that the notation in question might be neither intervallic nor Alypian, but the one mentioned by Aristides Quintilianus at *De mus.* 12.12-14 Winnington-Ingram, and represented in the subsequent table of symbols. I shall say a little about this possibility at the end of my paper.

14 Barker 2007, 63.

those who investigate the matter' (49.16-18). 'A person who sets out symbols to indicate intervals does not use a special symbol for each of the distinctions which exist among intervals' (49.18-20).

The crucial point is that Aristoxenus is not talking about what a person who reads a notated score can infer from the symbols, but about the capacities a person needs in order to *write down* the score of a melody he has heard or is hearing. This is why he can treat the evidence he puts forward at 49.18 ff. as proof that what he had said before is true, that you can write something down without understanding it. In order to write out a sequence of symbols representing a string of notes and intervals that you've heard, you need to rely on nothing but your perception of the sizes of the intervals; and so long as your sequence of symbols faithfully records the sizes of the intervals in the relevant melody, you will have done your work well. But it does not follow from this that a person who understands music properly will be unable to identify anything except the sizes of the intervals from the score you have written. On the contrary, such a person may be able to infer a great deal from the patterns of intervals he sees in it, about the structure of the prevailing scale, for instance, the genus to which it belongs, the identities of the individual notes, the places where modulations occur, and so on, all of which were things about which you needed to know nothing when you wrote the score. To go back to an analogous case which I mentioned earlier, you do not need to understand the language in which a sentence is spoken in order to write a phonetic transcription of it, but a linguistic specialist who examines the transcription may nevertheless be able to understand exactly what it means. You did not knowingly put this or any other meaning into the series of phonetic symbols that you wrote, but the correct meaning can nevertheless be extracted from it by a suitably qualified reader. To put the point in a nutshell, a notated score can reveal much more to a knowledgeable person who reads it than the person who wrote it understood; and that is surely true.

This, I now see, is the right way of reading what Aristoxenus says. The theme continues throughout the passage as far as 50.18, and it removes what I had thought was the main difficulty in taking the relevant system of notation to be the Alypian one. I had supposed Aristoxenus to be saying that the sizes of intervals was all that the notation he was talking about could reveal, and hence—since modern scholars who study the surviving 'Alypian' scores can and do infer from them a lot more than merely the sizes of the intervals—that the notation could not be the Alypian one. But he is not saying that at all; to repeat, he is saying only that to *write down* an accurate representation of a melody you need not understand anything about it. You need only to be able to use your ears to assess the sizes of the intervals; and it is true that one can write

out a melody in the Alypian notation on that basis alone. What someone fully equipped with knowledge of harmonic structures and relations can extract from the written score is another matter altogether.

There is just one sentence in which Aristoxenus seems to slip into talking about the information that the notational symbols convey, rather than on what the person who writes them must know. ‘The symbols do not distinguish [or perhaps ‘define’, διορίζει] the differences in the functions (*dynameis*),’ he says, ‘so that their scope extends only to the sizes [*sc.* of the intervals], and no further’ (50.7-9). I said that this ‘seems’ to be a statement about what the symbols signify, presumably what they signify to a competent score-reader, but in fact it is more than mere seeming; I can see no other way of construing it. One might therefore argue, once again, that the notation cannot be the Alypian kind, since experts can indeed draw inferences from sequences of its symbols about the *dynameis* of the notes they represent. But if we read the statement in its context, it turns out that the *dynameis* to which Aristoxenus is referring here are specifically those ‘which the natures of the tetrachords create’, ἀς αἱ τῶν τετραχόρδων φύσεις ποιοῦσι (50.5); the notation does not reveal these *dynameis*, he says, since it represents the tetrachord whose highest note is *nētē hyperbolaiōn* and the tetrachord whose highest note is *mesē* in exactly the same way (50.6-7). And it’s a fact that if all we have in the way of evidence is a sequence of Alypian symbols representing the notes of one of these tetrachords, what Aristoxenus says about the notation is true.¹⁵ Further, although on this one occasion he does not refer directly to the knowledge that a person writing the notation must possess, but to the meanings which the symbols do or do not convey to a reader, this does not make his statement irrelevant to the matter in hand. If no information about these *dynameis* is conveyed by the written symbols, then clearly the person who wrote the symbols did not need to know anything about the relevant *dynameis*; and that is precisely the thrust of Aristoxenus’ argument.

There is still a difficulty in this passage. As I mentioned earlier, the statement about the two tetrachords which we find in our texts is that they are ‘written with the same symbol’, τῷ αὐτῷ γράφεται σημεῖω (50.7); and this evidently implies that a single symbol is enough to indicate the size of the interval between the tetrachords’ boundaries. This is not true of the Alypian notation,

15 When the same symbols occur in the notations for two different *tonoi* or ‘keys’, they will designate notes in different parts of the system. Cf. West 1992b, 264 n. 24: ‘For example, the notes Γ Μ . . . represent the outer notes of the tetrachord Hyperbolaiōn in Hypodorian, and of the tetrachord Mesōn in Hyperphrygian (or Hypermixolydian, as it was called in Aristoxenus’ key-system).’

which would need to use two symbols, one for each of the relevant notes. Pöhlmann (n. 9 above) has pointed out that a simple emendation will eliminate the problem; all we need to do is to change the singular to the plural, and read τοῖς αὐτοῖς . . . σημείοις. Alternatively, I suppose, we could assume that the received text is correct, but that on this occasion Aristoxenus was a little careless in his mode of expression. Neither of these options is very alluring, but I can see no other way of resolving the difficulty.

There remains the fact that Aristoxenus never says or directly implies that the individual symbols of the notation identify notes, and indeed refers to them as σημεῖα τῶν διαστημάτων, literally ‘symbols of the intervals’ (49.19).¹⁶ But there is a good reason for his reticence about notes in this passage. It becomes clear later in the text that in his view notes are not merely points of pitch, or points marking the boundaries of an interval of some particular size; the identity of a note is intimately bound up with or actually identical with its *dynamis*.¹⁷ In the present passage, in which Aristoxenus denies that the notation has anything to do with *dynamis*, it was therefore essential to avoid any suggestion that the items picked out by the symbols are notes. The symbols do not identify notes, since they reveal nothing about *dynamis*; and since the people who write the symbols do not need to know anything about *dynamis*, they also need to know nothing about notes. We can in fact legitimately infer from what Aristoxenus says that a single, isolated symbol would tell us nothing at all about the item it represents except that it lies at some point of pitch—which note it is and which point of pitch it inhabits would not be determined. From two symbols written side by side, however, we can infer the size of the interval between the pitches of the items they designate, though we can infer nothing else. Then since a sequence of such symbols fails to signify anything except the sizes of the intervals bounded by the items they represent, and is incapable, in particular, of revealing the identities of those items themselves, Aristoxenus’ description of the symbols as σημεῖα τῶν διαστημάτων (and not as σημεῖα of those items, whatever they may be) is intelligible and arguably justifiable.

The comments I have made in the preceding paragraph are perhaps the most important of any I have offered in this paper, because they explain why the passage presents its readers with such troublesome difficulties. If we

16 An anonymous reader suggests that the phrase might be read as meaning ‘signs employed to indicate <the boundaries of> the intervals’. I am grateful for this suggestion, and if it were accepted, we might argue that since the ‘boundaries’ must be notes, there is at least an implicit allusion to notes in this phrase. But in fact this is not the case, for reasons that I give in the present paragraph.

17 See especially 45.10-16, 59.6-16, 60.17-61.4, 86.8-12, and cf. Barker 2007, 185-92.

assume that the notation in question was indeed the one recorded by Alypius, Aristoxenus certainly knew that its symbols purported to designate notes. But for the reasons I have given he could not represent them in that light, nor could he describe the items picked out by the symbols as determinate points of pitch. He had, in effect, to find some way of characterising the notation which did not involve any direct reference to the items designated by the individual symbols, since he had no terminology which would have allowed him to do so consistently with his strongly-held opinions. The strategy he adopted introduced a degree of awkwardness and obscurity into his discussion, but it is hard to think of any other approach that was open to him.

Earlier in this paper (n. 13 above) I mentioned a form of notation known only from a passage of Aristides Quintilianus, and attributed by him to ‘the ancients’ (τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, 12.12 Winnington-Ingram). In past publications I have floated, fairly enthusiastically, the possibility that it might be the system to which Aristoxenus is referring.¹⁸ It was analysed in detail in an article by Martin West, and he returned to it, more briefly, in his *Ancient Greek Music*.¹⁹ In the latter work his discussion comes immediately after his comments on our passage of Aristoxenus, but he does not directly suggest (and certainly does not endorse) the hypothesis that it is the one that Aristoxenus had in mind. The notation set out in Aristides’ table is essentially very simple. Its symbols are the letters of the Ionic alphabet, in some cases slightly modified, each of which appears in two forms. In their primary forms they mark off the 24 half-tone steps of a double octave, and their reversed forms mark the intervening quarter-tones. West comments on it as follows:

Its most significant feature is that unlike the standard notation it is not based on diatonic steps, or on any form of tonal scale. It is dodecaphonic, treating the twelve semitone steps of each octave as equal in status, and subdividing each of them into quarter-tones requiring differentiated symbols of a secondary order. This seems to be the product of theoretical analysis, not a system inspired by musical praxis. We hear, as it happens, of certain harmonic theorists who mapped out the octave in quarter-tones. They were anterior to Aristoxenus, who several times criticizes their approach without identifying them by name. It is surely in their environment that we should seek the origin of the notation under discussion. From Aristoxenus onward, so far as we know, everyone operated with some form of heptatonic Perfect System, and the standard notation had

18 See especially Barker 2007, 64-5.

19 In detail, West 1992a, 42-6; more briefly, West 1992b, 264-5.

by then probably established itself to the exclusion of all rivals. Aristides was right, then, to attribute the 'dodecaphonic' system to οἱ ἄρχαῖοι. It was probably invented sometime in the earlier part of the fourth century. It failed to achieve general currency; but it was by no means as silly as it has been deemed.²⁰

The harmonic theorists whom West mentions here are of course the *harmonikoi* to whom Aristoxenus attributes the use of diagrams; in these diagrams, it appears, the octave was divided up by a grid marked off into quarter-tone steps, onto which—we must presumably imagine—scales of particular kinds were mapped. Thus the sizes of the intervals in each scalar sequence could be directly read off from the diagram. Diagrams of this sort have obvious affinities with the notation that Aristides records. Both of them use the quarter-tone as the unit of measurement, and what West says of the notation is true also of the diagrams: they are not based on any tonal system, and they treat all the individual steps as equal in status. He goes on to remark that this notation most probably belongs to the realm of theoretical analysis, and has little or nothing to do with the practices of musicians; but I speculate below that this may be overstating the case. It seems clear, too, that the people who wrote in this notation, like those who wrote in the notation that Aristoxenus discusses, needed to know nothing about the notes in any such sequence except the sizes of the intervals between them.

West has argued that the original source for Aristides' information about this notation must be the same as the source for the 'ancient scales' which he describes at 18.5-19.10, and sets out in the Alypian notation in the table that follows.²¹ I think he is right. Elsewhere I have tried to show that the source in question is Aristoxenus himself;²² and if that is correct, clearly Aristoxenus knew the notation we are discussing. The hypothesis that it is the one to which he is referring in our passage of the *El. harm.* is encouraged by its apparent connection with the activities of the *harmonikoi*. It faces some of the difficulties which the Alypian hypothesis encounters, though not all, and those that it does face can be resolved in the same way. We can also guess at the basis for Aristoxenus' allegation that certain *harmonikoi* treated the skill of notating melodies as the 'limit' of harmonic science. All the *harmonikoi* of whom we know anything were practical musicians, and as such were almost certainly also teachers. We can readily imagine one of them saying to his students: 'If you

20 West 1992a, 46.

21 West 1992a, 46.

22 Barker 2007, 45-8.

can learn to record, in this notation, the sizes of all the intervals of any melody you hear played by a professional musician, this will guarantee that you can recognise all of them accurately, and are equipped to be a reliable judge of the accuracy of your own performances. That is the limit (πέρας) of the extent to which you need to engage with harmonic science. From that point onwards, your project becomes the practical one of perfecting your performing skills.' In that case Aristoxenus will have misrepresented what the *harmonikoi* said by detaching it from its context in the training of practical musicians, and no doubt that is misleading and deplorable; but I wouldn't put it beyond him.

Although I have abandoned my opposition to an Alypian interpretation of the passage in Aristoxenus, if I had to choose between it and the one that Aristides reports, I think that on balance I would choose the latter. But perhaps it is unnecessary to choose between them. If Aristoxenus was familiar with both the notations, and thought (with some justification, as we have seen) that the points he was making applied equally to both, the question of which of them he had in mind does not really arise. No matter which of the notations a particular *harmonikos* happened to teach his students, his contention that the capacity to deploy it is the 'limit' of harmonic science would fall under the same anathema.

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L'organisation d'ensemble du livre II des *Ῥυθμικά* στοιχεῖα d'Aristoxène de Tarente

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Résumé

The study of evidence on the content of Book II of Aristoxenus' *Ῥυθμικά* στοιχεῖα shows that it was composed of an introduction and six chapters : a *περὶ χρόνων* (the distinction between *ῤυθμός* and *ῤυθμιζόμενα*, the *μεγέθη* τῶν χρόνων, the *χρόνος* πρῶτος and the *χρόνοι* τῆς ῤυθμοποιίας ἴδιοι), a *περὶ ποδῶν* (their definition, *μέρη*, rationality and *διαφοραί*), a *περὶ γενῶν* τῶν ποδῶν (the three *γένη* of the *συνεχῆς* ῤυθμοποιία, their respective *πόδες*, their size, the refutation of the arithmetical theory of the *κανονικοί* and the recapitulation of the *πόδες* proper to each *γένος*), a *περὶ ῤυθμῶν* (the definition of *ῤυθμός*, the *διαφοραί* τῶν ῤυθμῶν and their classification), a *περὶ ἀγωγῆς* (the definition of *ἀγωγή*, its interdependence with the *χρόνος* πρῶτος and its limitation by *αἴσθησις*) and a *περὶ μεταβολῆς* (the definition of the *ῤυθμικὴ* μεταβολή and its twelve *τρόποι*). As for *ῤυθμοποιία*, it must have been discussed in Book III.

Mots clés

Aristoxène – Aristide Quintilien – Martianus Capella – Michel Psellos – rythmique

Depuis la tentative très personnelle et trop subjective de R. Westphal¹, nul n'a proposé de reconstitution des *Ῥυθμικά* στοιχεῖα d'Aristoxène qui fût davantage respectueuse des indices procurés par le seul fragment transmis par les manuscrits médiévaux, des données de la tradition indirecte et des analogies formelles et matérielles offertes par les restes de l'harmonique aristoxénienne².

¹ Westphal 1883, 5-162.

² Celle de F. Wehrli (1983, 543-544) est toute gratuite.

Certains estiment même aujourd'hui qu'en l'état de notre documentation, une telle reconstitution est impossible³. La préparation d'une nouvelle édition critique des écrits rythmiques d'Aristoxène m'a convaincu du contraire. Le présent article se propose donc de récapituler les résultats de mes recherches et de présenter la reconstitution du livre II des *Ῥυθμικά στοιχεία* qui présidera à mon édition⁴.

1 Les indices du fragment des *Ῥυθμικά στοιχεία* sur les chapitres perdus de leur livre II

Tout essai de reconstitution des *Ῥυθμικά στοιχεία* doit partir de leur seul fragment conservé : le considérer en lui-même, en analyser la composition et y rechercher des indications portant sur le reste du traité. C'est sans doute un texte original suivi (non un ensemble de fragments ou un recueil d'extraits)⁵ qui forme le début du livre II des *Ῥυθμικά στοιχεία* : il a successivement été décomposé en deux fragments, huit chapitres, neuf sections, une introduction et trois parties (sur le rythme, le temps et le pied), vingt paragraphes, et un "sommaire du livre I" et quatre sections (sur les choses rythmées, le temps premier, la rythmopée et le pied)⁶. Le fragment débute par une introduction (§ 1-2 : 2, 1-8 Pearson) qui récapitule les matières traitées au livre précédent et annonce la suite. Les six paragraphes suivants (§ 3-8 : 2, 9-6, 14 Pearson), où sont distingués le *ῤυθμός* et le *ῤυθμιζόμενον*, forment la première section du chapitre *περὶ χρόνων* (§ 3-15 : 2, 9-10, 20 Pearson)⁷ : au § 2 (2, 5-8 Pearson), Aristoxène affirme en effet qu'il lui faut revenir *περὶ τοὺς χρόνους καὶ τὴν τοῦτων αἴσθησιν* ("aux temps et à la sensation qu'on en a"), qui constituent l'*ἀρχὴ τῆς περὶ τοὺς ῤυθμοὺς ἐπιστήμης* ("le principe de la science dévolue aux rythmes") ; et aux § 6-7 (4, 11-22 Pearson) et § 9-10 (6, 15-26 Pearson), il décrit les *χρόνοι*

3 Voir par exemple Mathiesen 1999, 343 et Gibson 2005, 98.

4 Les *Ῥυθμικά στοιχεία* d'Aristoxène ne constituent pas un manuel divisé en de véritables parties, chapitres, sections et paragraphes, mais un traité qui aborde successivement les différents objets de la science rythmique et soulève les questions afférentes à chacun d'entre eux (voir Bélis 1986, 44-46) : c'est par commodité qu'on parle par la suite de *parties* (*μέρη*), de *chapitres* (*κεφάλαια*), de sections (*τμήματα*) ou de paragraphes (*μόρια*). Cette manière de faire est toutefois conforme aux pratiques antiques (voir Birt 1882, 157-159).

5 Voir Bartels 1854, 3, 4, 15. *Contra*, Morelli 1785, xxxii-xxxviii et Juszatz 1893, 175, 189-191.

6 Morelli 1785, xxxvi-xxxviii, Feussner 1840, v, 1-28, Roszbach 1854, 11-12, Hirsch 1859, 10-11, Westphal 1861, 85-86, 94-95 [= Westphal 1885, 66-67], Westphal 1883, 5, 20, Juszatz 1993, 190, Seydel 1914, 772, Segato 1897, 7-32, Pighi 1959, 5-7 et Gibson 2005, 88.

7 Westphal 1861, 94-95 et Westphal 1885, 66.

comme les segments produits par la division du temps opérée ὑπὸ τῶν ῥυθμιζομένων τοῖς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν μέρεσιν (“par les choses rythmées au moyen des parties de chacune d’elles”) : la distinction du ῥυθμός et du ῥυθμιζόμενον est donc tout entière orientée vers la construction du concept de χρόνος. Les § 9-10 (6, 15-26 Pearson), qui forment avec les deux suivants le noyau du chapitre περὶ χρόνων, traitent des divers μεγέθη rythmiques (χρόνος πρῶτος, δίσημος, τρίσημος, τετράσημος, κ.τ.λ.) et les § 11-12 (6, 27-8-10) du χρόνος πρῶτος en particulier. Les § 13-15 (8, 11-10, 20 Pearson), où sont distingués les temps de la rythmopée (χρόνος σύνθετος, ἀσύνθετος, κ.τ.λ.), en constituent la quatrième section. Le § 16 (10, 21-22 Pearson), qui présente une définition du pied (ὃ δὲ σημαίνομεθα τὸν ῥυθμὸν καὶ γινώριμον ποιοῦμεν τῇ αἰσθήσει πούς ἐστιν εἷς ἢ πλείους ἐνός : “Quant à ce qui nous permet de marquer le rythme et de le faire reconnaître au sens, c’est le pied—un seul ou plus d’un”), inaugure le chapitre περὶ ποδῶν. Il est suivi d’une deuxième section (§ 17-19 : 10, 23-12, 19 Pearson) sur leurs parties constitutives (χρόνοι, μέρη, σημεία), puis d’une troisième (§ 20-21 : 12, 20-14, 18 Pearson) sur leur rationalité et leur irrationalité (ὥρισταὶ δὲ τῶν ποδῶν ἕκαστος ἦτοι λόγῳ τινὶ ἢ ἀλογίᾳ : “chacun des pieds est défini soit par un rapport arithmétique, soit par une irrationalité”) et d’une quatrième (§ 22-29 : 14, 19-16, 15 Pearson), où sont énoncées et brièvement définies les sept διαφοραὶ τῶν ποδῶν. Depuis le milieu du 19^e siècle⁸, on s’est généralement figuré que ce chapitre englobait la plus grande partie des Ῥυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα et on a estimé qu’une section séparée devait y être ensuite consacrée à chacune de ces sept différences, dont les § 22-29 seraient l’“eingehende Darstellung” : le § 30 (16, 16-19 Pearson) présenterait l’explication de la διαφορὰ γένει (§ 24 : 16, 1-3 Pearson) et les § 31-36 (16, 20-18, 21 Pearson) le début de celle de la διαφορὰ μεγέθει (§ 23 : 14, 27-28 Pearson). Une telle hypothèse se heurte pourtant à deux difficultés : si Aristoxène devait revenir plus loin à la *différence* λόγῳ ἢ ἀλογίᾳ (§ 25 : 16, 4-5 Pearson), pourquoi avoir consacré les § 20-21 à son explication? Et si les § 30 et § 31-36 développent les *différences* γένει et μεγέθει, pourquoi Aristoxène en a-t-il inversé l’ordre? Selon R. Westphal, les § 20 (12, 20-29 Pearson) et § 25 ne contiendraient que “einige sehr spärliche Notizen”, les § 20-21 donneraient “eine vorläufige Definition dieses irrationalen Verhältnisses” et l’inversion de l’ordre des *différences de genre et de grandeur* tiendrait à ce que “diesen Tactarten zu Grunde liegende rhythmische Verhältnis zugleich die Grundlage für das μέγεθος der Tacte war”⁹. Or les explications de l’irrationalité rythmique (§ 20-21 et § 25) occupent exactement un huitième du fragment : c’est énorme pour des “vorläufige Anticipationen

8 Rossbach 1854, 11-12, Hirsch 1859, 11 et Westphal (1861, 95-96 ; 1883, 47-158 et 1885, 67). Voir aussi Seydel 1914, 772, par exemple.

9 Westphal 1861, 95 et 1885, 67.

von später weitläufiger dargestellten rhythmischen Sätzen”, si l’on considère que l’exposé relatif au χρόνος πρῶτος est deux fois plus court et que la question du rapport rythmique constitutif des genres rythmiques (fondamentale pour le μέγεθος des pieds) est réglée en quelques lignes (§ 24 et § 30) ; quant à l’explication de l’intervention des *différences* γένει et μεγέθει, elle ne fait que repousser le problème : s’il est vrai que le μέγεθος présuppose le γένος, pourquoi Aristoxène a-t-il donné la prééminence à la *différence* μεγέθει aux § 22-23 (14, 19-28 Pearson)? Il est donc probable que les § 30-36 (16, 16-18, 21 Pearson) ne constituent pas la suite du deuxième chapitre sur les pieds, mais forment le début d’un περί γενῶν τῶν ποδῶν : on en aurait conservé la première section, relative aux trois genres de la rythmopée continue (§ 30), et le début de la deuxième, consacrée à l’énumération des pieds de chaque genre (§ 31-36).

Le fragment présente d’autre part une douzaine de références à des notions d’harmonique (§ 8-9, § 11-15 et § 21 : 4, 23-6, 21, 6, 27-10, 20 et 12, 30-14, 18 Pearson), qui invitent à considérer les Ἀρμονικά στοιχεῖα d’Aristoxène comme un paradigme de son traité de rythmique¹⁰; ainsi que huit indications sur les matières traitées dans sa partie perdue. Quatre de ces dernières concernent la ῥυθμοποιία : au § 13 (8, 12-13 Pearson), Aristoxène explique ὅτι δ’ ἐστὶν οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ ῥυθμοποιία τε καὶ ῥυθμός, σαφές μὲν οὐπω ῥᾶδιόν ἐστι ποιῆσαι (“que composition rythmique et rythme ne soient pas la même chose, il n’est pas encore aisé de le rendre clair”), suggérant ainsi qu’il y reviendra plus tard ; puis il affirme semblablement (8, 19-20 Pearson) que τὴν ῥυθμοποιίαν χρήσιν τινὰ εἶναι (“la composition rythmique est un certain usage”) et (8, 20-21 Pearson) que σαφέστερον δὲ τοῦτο εἰσόμεθα προελθούσης τῆς πραγματείας (“nous saurons cela plus clairement en avançant dans la question”) ; au § 19, il distingue encore (12, 16-18 Pearson) τὰ μὲν ἐκάστου ποδὸς σημεῖα (“les *battues* de chaque pied”) et αἱ δ’ ὑπὸ τῆς ῥυθμοποιίας γινόμεναι διαιρέσεις (“les divisions qui naissent sous l’effet de la composition rythmique”), avant d’assurer (12, 18-19 Pearson) qu’ἔσται δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα φανερόν (“c’est encore par la suite que cela sera manifeste”) ; au § 30 (16, 16-17 Pearson), il mentionne enfin les τρία γένη τῶν ποδῶν καὶ συνεχῇ ῥυθμοποιίαν δεχομένων (“les trois genres de pieds, quand ils admettent du moins une rythmopée continue”) et devait donc parler plus loin d’autres genres de pieds et de la *rythmopée, continue* ou *discontinue*. Aucune de ces allusions à un exposé sur la ῥυθμοποιία ne présente cependant le moindre indice sur sa situation au sein des Ῥυθμικά στοιχεῖα. Le § 12 (8, 10 Pearson) fait d’autre part allusion à un développement postérieur ἐπὶ τῶν ποδικῶν σχημάτων lui aussi perdu. Au § 16 (10, 22 Pearson), l’expression πούς ἐστὶν εἷς ἢ πλείους ἑνός (“c’est le pied—un seul ou plus d’un”), qui laisse entendre que certains rythmes

10 Sur ces analogies, voir Barker 1999, 936.

ne peuvent être identifiés à l'aide d'un seul pied (εἷς), suppose l'existence de rythmes composés de pieds de genres différents (πλείους ἑνός)¹¹ : après avoir traité des pieds, Aristoxène devait donc aborder la question des *rythmes* et les distinguer suivant qu'ils étaient ou non formés de pieds du même genre. À la fin du § 18 (12, 7 Pearson), il renvoie à une démonstration ultérieure (ὑστερον δειχθήσεται) qui n'a pas non plus été conservée : διὰ τί δ' οὐ γίνεται πλείω σημεία τῶν τεττάρων οἷς ὁ πούς χρήται κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ("la raison pour laquelle les *battues* que nécessite le pied, en vertu de sa propre valeur rythmique, ne sont pas plus de quatre sera démontrée plus tard"). L'exposé des pieds des trois genres (§ 31-36, 16, 20-18, 21 Pearson), qui s'interrompt au milieu d'une phrase, devait enfin se poursuivre bien au-delà de sa limite actuelle.

2 Le témoignage des autres écrits d'Aristoxène sur ses Ῥυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα

Il convient d'examiner ensuite les deux autres textes d'Aristoxène qui contiennent des indications sur l'organisation de sa rythmique : la citation par Porphyre d'un développement περὶ τοῦ πρώτου χρόνου (78-79 Düring) et les restes de ses Ἀρμονικὰ στοιχεῖα, dont on a précédemment souligné la valeur paradigmatique¹². La citation de Porphyre, qui consiste en une analogie entre la finitude des grandeurs rythmiques et harmoniques et confirme le lien étroit établi par Aristoxène entre ces deux domaines, témoigne surtout de l'importance de la notion d'ἄγωγῇ (le *tempo*), absente du fragment de ses Ῥυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα : εἴπερ εἰσὶν ἐκάστου τῶν ῤυθμῶν ἄγωγαὶ ἄπειροι, ἄπειροι ἔσονται καὶ οἱ πρώτοι ("si les *tempi* de chacun des rythmes sont infinis, les temps premiers aussi seront infinis") ; et plus loin : καθόλου δὲ νοητέον, ὅς ἂν ληφθῇ τῶν ῤυθμῶν, ὅμοιον, ὅσπερ ταχέως (εἰπεῖν ὁ τραχέος codd.) ἐπὶ τῇσδε τινος ἄγωγῆς τεθεῖς, ἀπείρων ἐκείνων πρώτων ἓνα τινὰ λήψεται εἰς αὐτόν ("de manière générale, il faut concevoir que, quel que soit celui des rythmes que l'on prenne, il est tel, qu'à peine établi dans un *tempo* donné, il admettra une seule de ces unités infinies")¹³. Comme cette notion est intimement liée à celle de χρόνος πρώτος et qu'Aristoxène n'en dit mot dans son chapitre περὶ χρόνων, il y a fort à penser qu'il lui ait par la suite dédié un chapitre séparé. Une autre indication

11 Voir Caesar 1861, 288-289, Weil (1862, 348 ; 1865, 653 et 1902, 152-153 et 169), Susemihl 1866, 10, Brambach 1871, 20-27, Muller 1880, 64, Calvié (2007, 424-425 ; 2015b, 76-81).

12 Il n'y a pas lieu d'utiliser le fragment rythmique du POxy 9 + 2687 pour reconstituer les Ῥυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα d'Aristoxène : voir Calvié 2015b, p. 83, n. 45, et surtout Calvié 2016b.

13 Pour l'établissement du texte, voir Calvié 2007, 450-452, Calvié 2015b, p. 83, n. 47 et Calvié 2016b, n. 105.

précieuse est fournie par l'affirmation que πάντες οἱ ῥυθμοὶ ἐκ ποδῶν σύγκεινται ("tous les rythmes sont des assemblages de pieds") et que πόδας συντίθεμεν ἐκ χρόνων ("nous composons les pieds à partir de temps") : elle confirme en effet qu'Aristoxène ait pu concevoir les ῥυθμοὶ comme des systèmes d'organisation d'un niveau d'analyse supérieur aux πόδες et leur consacrer un chapitre particulier, ainsi que le laissait déjà présager le § 16 (10, 21-22 Pearson) du fragment.

Les restes des Ἀρμονικὰ στοιχεῖα d'Aristoxène présentent d'autre part deux témoignages directs sur sa rythmique. Au début de leur livre II (B 32 : 41, 9-11 Da Rios), le musicien grec affirme que μέρος γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἄρμονικὴ πραγματεία τῆς τοῦ μουσικοῦ ἕξεως, καθάπερ ἡ τε ῥυθμικὴ καὶ ἡ μετρικὴ καὶ ἡ ὀργανικὴ ("car la discipline harmonique est une partie de la formation du musicien, au même titre que la rythmique, la métrique et l'organologie") : il ne devait donc traiter de questions métriques dans aucun livre de ses Ῥυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα¹⁴. Un peu plus loin (B 34 : 43, 15-44, 3 Da Rios), il consacre un assez long développement à l'illustration (dans le domaine rythmique) de l'idée que la musique consiste, comme tout être physique selon Aristote (*Phys.* II, 1, 192b13-22), en l'union μένοντός τινος καὶ κινουμένου (B 33 : 43, 4 Da Rios : "d'éléments stables et variables") : ce développement se termine (B 34 : 44, 1-3 Da Rios) par un membre de phrase presque identique au § 16 du fragment rythmique (10, 21-22 Pearson), qui s'inscrit dans un passage parallèle à son § 19 (12, 8-19 Pearson) : καθόλου δὲ εἶπεν, ἡ μὲν ῥυθμοποιία πολλάς καὶ παντοδαπὰς κινήσεις κινεῖται· οἱ δὲ πόδες, οἷς σημαίνόμεθα τοὺς ῥυθμούς, ἀπλᾶς τε καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰεὶ ("pour le dire de manière générale, la rythmopée produit des mouvements multiples et de toutes sortes, tandis que les pieds, par lesquels nous marquons les rythmes, les font simples et toujours les mêmes"). Tout cela confirme l'hypothèse que la suite des Ῥυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα contenait un chapitre sur les rythmes et un autre sur la rythmopée : en outre, Aristoxène (B 34 : 43, 19-20 Da Rios) y oppose le πούς à la συζυγία (καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μέγεθος πόδα τε δύναται καὶ συζυγίαν : "et la même longueur peut être un pied et une syzygie"), comme s'il s'agissait de deux modes de formation des ῥυθμοὶ. Le début du passage présente encore les γένη comme un facteur rythmique déterminant (B 34 : 43, 16-17 Da Rios : καὶ γὰρ μένοντος τοῦ λόγου, καθ' ὃν διώρισται τὰ γένη, τὰ μεγέθη κινεῖται τῶν ποδῶν : "et tandis que le rapport arithmétique, suivant lequel sont déterminés les genres, reste stable, la longueur des pieds varie") et vient étayer l'hypothèse qu'un chapitre séparé leur était dédié au livre II du traité. Et l'on peut tirer une conclusion analogue de la mention de l'ἀγωγή qui s'y trouve (B 34 : 43, 17-18 Da Rios : τὰ μεγέθη κινεῖται τῶν ποδῶν διὰ τὴν τῆς ἀγωγῆς δύναμιν : "la longueur des pieds varie en fonction du *tempo*").

14 *Contra*, Westphal (1883, 220-226 ; 1885, 41-42 ; 1887, 138 et 1891, 74-78), Graf 1891, 20, Goodell 1902, 14, Seydel 1914, 772, par exemple.

En plus de ces deux témoignages directs sur la rythmique aristoxénienne, les restes des Ἀρμονικά στοιχεῖα contiennent un élément auquel on peut confronter les résultats provisoires de la présente enquête : leur πίναξ (table des matières). Aristoxène y expose (B 34-38 : 44, 8-48, 10 Da Rios) leurs ἑπτα μέρη : γένη, διαστήματα, φθόγγοι, συστήματα, τόνοι, μεταβολή et μελοποιία¹⁵. Aux γένη harmoniques correspondraient, dans les Ῥυθμικά στοιχεῖα, les γένη τῶν ποδῶν, aux διαστήματα les πόδες, aux φθόγγοι les χρόνοι, aux συστήματα les ῥυθμοί et à la μελοποιία la ῥυθμοποιία. Les chapitres sur les τόνοι et la μεταβολή seraient remplacés par l'étude de l'ἄγωγή (et, éventuellement, de la ῥυθμική μεταβολή). Cette confrontation tend à confirmer la perte totale ou partielle de trois chapitres traitant respectivement des γένη, des ῥυθμοί (formés de πόδες composés de χρόνοι, comme les συστήματα sont formés de διαστήματα composés de φθόγγοι), et de la ῥυθμοποιία ; sans invalider l'idée qu'Aristoxène ait pu en consacrer un autre à l'ἄγωγή, elle suggère également l'existence originelle d'un chapitre sur la ῥυθμική μεταβολή. L'ordre des matières traitées dans le fragment rythmique diverge certes de celui de leurs homologues harmoniques, mais au livre I de ses Ἀρμονικά στοιχεῖα (A 4-8 : 8, 7-12, 18 Da Rios), Aristoxène énumère six de ces dernières dans un ordre différent (διαστήματα, συστήματα, γένη, φθόγγοι, τόνοι et μεταβολή) et, chez le très orthodoxe Cléonide (p. 179 Jan), elles suivent exactement celui que laisse supposer le fragment rythmique (φθόγγοι, διαστήματα, γένη, συστήματα, τόνοι, μεταβολή et μελοποιία)¹⁶. La raison de ces variations peut résider dans un "divorce entre le plan et l'exposé"¹⁷ ou dans la nature évolutive des traités aristoxéniens et dans les modalités de composition permises par le mode de diffusion des écrits durant l'Antiquité : l'auteur pouvait alors "revoir son œuvre tant qu'il restait intéressé par la matière dont elle traitait"¹⁸.

Un dernier passage des Ἀρμονικά στοιχεῖα (p. 16-17) regarde de près l'organisation du livre II des Ῥυθμικά στοιχεῖα : il s'agit des deux listes de différences des διαστήματα et des συστήματα correspondant à celles des πόδες (§ 22-29 : 14, 19-16, 15 Pearson) et offrant avec celle-ci des analogies significatives : comme les πόδες, les διαστήματα et les συστήματα peuvent en effet différer μεγέθει, συνθέσει (τὰ σύνθετα τῶν ἀσυνθέτων), γένει et λόγω ἢ ἀλογίᾳ (τὰ ῥητὰ τῶν ἀλόγων). Or la dualité de ces listes suppose que les Ῥυθμικά στοιχεῖα aient

15 Même ordre chez Vitruve (v, 4).

16 Pour un ordre légèrement différent, voir Aristide Quintilien (I, 5 : 7 Winnington-Ingram [W.-I.]) et les *Anonymes de Bellermann* (§ 20 et § 31 : 6 et 9-10 Najock) : φθόγγοι, διαστήματα, συστήματα, γένη, τόνοι, μεταβολή et μελοποιία.

17 Bélis 1986, 43.

18 Canfora 2012, 19-21. Voir aussi Groningen 1963, 7-8 et Dorandi 2000, 77-128.

pu également présenter deux listes de différences : celle des πόδες (§ 22-29) et celle des ῥυθμοί, qui se serait perdue. Le fait que celles du traité d'harmonique ne soient pas suivies d'une explication développée de chacune des différences, mais d'un exposé indépendant (περὶ μέλους) confirme enfin l'hypothèse que les § 30-36 (16, 16-18, 21 Pearson) du fragment rythmique ne développent pas ses § 22-29, mais forment le début d'un chapitre περὶ γενῶν τῶν ποδῶν.

3 Le témoignage de Michel Psellos sur le chapitre περὶ γενῶν τῶν ποδῶν

Les Προλαμβανόμενα εἰς τὴν ῥυθμικὴν ἐπιστήμην, unanimement tenus pour une pièce maîtresse de la tradition indirecte des Ῥυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα, ont toujours été utilisés de manière arbitraire pour reconstituer les parties manquantes de ce traité. A. Rossbach et R. Westphal ont ainsi supposé que leurs § 8-12 (22, 22-24, 19 Pearson = C8-12 : 59-80 Calvié) étaient extraits de la suite du fragment rythmique d'Aristoxène, mais cette hypothèse les a amenés à chambouler l'ordre des extraits pselliens sans la moindre justification (§ 8, § 12 et § 9-11 chez Rossbach et § 12, § 9, § 11, § 10 et § 8 chez Westphal), alors même que le premier avait reconnu que “die excerptierten Sätze folgen in derselben Ordnung wie bei Aristoxenus”¹⁹. Comme on l'a montré ailleurs²⁰, il s'agit probablement du brouillon d'une lettre, dont le début seul (§ 1 : 20, 3-17 Pearson = A : 1-14 Calvié) a été rédigé et dont la suite consiste en des extraits presque bruts des livres I et II du traité d'Aristoxène : ceux-ci paraissent avoir été tirés d'un manuscrit indépendant du *Marcianus app. cl.* VI 3 (le père de toute la tradition directe des Ῥυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα) et copiés, dans l'ordre de l'original, sur des feuillets volants (δίφυλλα) dont certains ont par la suite été perdus ou intervertis. Dans leur état actuel, ils sont formés de cinq blocs (ABCDE), dont le nombre de lettres (1000, 1500, 1500, 650 et 900 environ) laisse penser que A n'a pas été rédigé sur le même support ni avec la même écriture que les autres, que BC correspondent chacun à un feuillet recto verso, tandis que DE ont d'abord été inscrits sur les seuls rectos de leurs feuillets respectifs. A (§ 1) provient du livre I des Ῥυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα ; D (§ 13 : 24, 20-31 Pearson = D13 : 14-24 Calvié) devait à l'origine former le début des extraits de leur livre II (§ 3-6 d'Aristoxène : 2, 9-4, 18 Pearson) et aura été déplacé ; B (§ 2-7 : 20, 18-22, 21 Pearson = B2-7 : 24-46 Calvié) est à sa

19 Rossbach 1855, 205-206. Voir aussi Westphal 1861, 37-39, Westphal 1867, 13-14, Westphal 1883, 65-127 et Westphal 1893, 85-86.

20 Voir Calvié 2014.

place (§ 3-10 d'Aristoxène : 2, 9-6, 26 Pearson)²¹; E (§ 14-17 : 26, 1-16 Pearson = E14-17 : 47-59 Calvié) venait après (§ 17-30 d'Aristoxène : 10, 23-16, 19 Pearson) et aura lui aussi été déplacé ; s'ajoutait enfin C (§ 8-12), qui n'a pas d'équivalent dans l'original et procède probablement de la suite du fragment, mais pas de sa suite immédiate. Comme l'indique en effet le § 12 (24, 8-19 Pearson = C12 : 71-80 Calvié), Aristoxène devait poursuivre jusqu'aux durées de 25 temps premiers leur revue et leur répartition générique entreprises au § 31 (16, 20 Pearson)²² et recourir, au terme de ce calcul, à l'argument des limites de la sensation auditive pour justifier celles de l'étendue des pieds. De cette revue et de cette explication, Psellos n'aura pas retenu une ligne, mais il aura tiré ses § 8-12 des sections suivantes de sa source et en aura conservé l'ordre. Ses § 9 (24, 1-3 Pearson = C9 : 66-68 Calvié) et § 11 (24, 6-7 Pearson = C11 : 69-70 Calvié), qui affirment l'analogie arithmétique des rapports rythmiques et harmoniques (§ 11) et la rythmicité (§ 9) des rapports triple et épitríte, contredisent toutefois les § 30, § 32 et § 35 d'Aristoxène (16, 16-19; 16, 25-17, 4; et 18, 16, 19 Pearson), qui les nient expressément. Mais ce dernier peut y avoir résumé une théorie pythagoricienne (l'admission des rapports $4/3$ et $3/1$ relève en effet de la croyance en l'efficiencia de la divine *tétractys*), également attestée chez Aristide Quintilien (I, 14 : 33, 29-34, 15 W.-I.), avant d'en réfuter l'*a-priorisme* mathématique au nom de l'*αἰσθησις*. Porphyre (*In Ptol. Harm.*, 37-38 Düring), qui cite un passage du *Περὶ ὁμοιοτήτων* de Denys le Musicien rapportant la théorie des canoniciens (οἱ κανονικοί) que μία σχεδὸν καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ οὐσία ἐστὶ ῥυθμοῦ τε καὶ μέλους ("le rythme et la mélodie ont presque une seule et même substance"), le commente en effet en des termes voisins de ceux de Psellos (καὶ οἱ ῥυθμ[η]τικοὶ πόδες κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους λόγους διακεκριμένοι τυγχάνουσι κατὰ μὲν τὸν ἴσον καὶ διπλάσιον καὶ ἡμιόλιον οἱ πλείστοι καὶ εὐφυέστατοι, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐπίτριτον καὶ κατὰ τὸν τριπλάσιον : "et les pieds rythmiques sont évalués suivant ces mêmes rapports arithmétiques, pour ce qui est des plus nombreux et des plus naturels, alors que certains, qui sont rares, le sont aussi suivant l'épitríte et le double") et précise que ces κανονικοί sont les rivaux des aristoxéniciens (οἱ μουσικοί), c'est-à-dire οἱ Πυθαγορικοί (p. 23 Düring). Le § 10 de Psellos (24, 4-5 Pearson = C10 : 68-69 Calvié), qui énonce le principe qu'un rythme composé²³

21 Sur le statut des § 4 et § 6 de Psellos, voir Calvié 2014, 157-160 et 167.

22 On peut ainsi restituer de manière assez sûre le texte perdu du livre II des § 37-54 des *Ῥυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα* d'Aristoxène : Westphal (1883, 37-65) l'a fait en allemand, Kalkner (1892, 43) en grec (pour les seuls § 41-43).

23 Cette conception du rythme composé est conforme à celle d'Aristoxène, transmise par Aristide Quintilien (I, 18) : voir Brambach 1871, 23 et Calvié 2015b, 76-81.

est une durée divisible de deux manières (en un nombre inférieur de constituants immédiats et en un nombre supérieur de constituants indirects), confirme cette hypothèse : l'oreille (αἴσθησις), qui ne perçoit pas un ensemble de sept temps comme un tout doué de rythme (§ 35 d'Aristoxène : 18, 16-19 Pearson), peut le décomposer en trois durées (2 + 2 + 3) formant entre elles un rapport égal (2/2) et un hémiole (3/2), et en admettre ainsi la rythmicité, sans que l'épitríte soit tenu pour un quatrième genre rythmique. Le § 12 de Psellos (24, 8-19 Pearson = C12 : 71-80 Calvié) témoigne enfin que le chapitre d'Aristoxène περί γενῶν τῶν ποδῶν devait se terminer par la récapitulation des pieds de chaque genre et du nombre de leurs battues : c'était probablement l'occasion d'expliquer la question annoncée (ὑστερον δειχθήσεται) au § 18 du fragment rythmique (12, 5-7 Pearson : διὰ τί δ' οὐ γίνεται πλείω σημεία τῶν τεττάρων οἷς ὁ πούς χρήται κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ δύνανται : "la raison pour laquelle les battues dont se sert le pied, en vertu de sa propre valeur rythmique, ne sont pas plus de quatre sera démontrée plus tard") et c'est peut-être aussi ce passage que vise le renvoi ἐπὶ τῶν ποδικῶν σχημάτων (§ 12 d'Aristoxène : 8, 9-10 Pearson : "cela sera manifeste, quand il sera question des figures des pieds") où était éclaircie la manière dont la sensation saisit le temps premier.

4 Les témoignages d'Aristide Quintilien (I, 13) et de Martianus Capella (§ 970) sur le πίναξ du livre II des Ῥυθμικά στοιχεῖα

Nul n'a contesté qu'Aristide (I, 13 : 32, 8-10 W.-I.) n'ait conservé le πίναξ du livre II des Ῥυθμικά στοιχεῖα²⁴ : μέρη δὲ ῥυθμικῆς πέντε · διαλαμβάνομεν γὰρ περὶ πρώτων χρόνων, περὶ γενῶν ποδικῶν, περὶ ἀγωγῆς ῥυθμικῆς, περὶ μεταβολῶν, περὶ ῥυθμοποιίας ("la rythmique a cinq parties, car nous traitons de temps premiers, de genres de pieds, de *tempo*, de métaboles et de composition rythmique"). Or ce πίναξ contredit les résultats de la présente étude suivant lesquels six ou sept chapitres περί χρόνων, περί ποδῶν, περί γενῶν τῶν ποδῶν, περί ῥυθμῶν, περί ἀγωγῆς (περί μεταβολῆς) et περί ῥυθμοποιίας y auraient succédé à une brève introduction. Deux "indices concordants, bien qu'irréductibles entre eux",²⁵ témoignent cependant de la corruption de son texte reçu : son inadéquation à l'organisation du traité de rythmique d'Aristide et son désaccord flagrant avec

24 Rossbach 1854, 10-12. Voir aussi Hirsch 1859, 11-12, Caesar 1861, 81-82, Westphal 1861, 93-97, Deiters 1881, 14, Gevaert 1881, 7, Westphal 1883, LXXIII et 159, Sokolowsky 1887, 42-44, Seydel 1907, 10, Ruelle 1910, 321, Seydel 1914, 775, Rowell 1979, 65-66, Mathiesen 1983, 24, Mathiesen 1999, 343, Calvié 2000, 110-111, Gibson 2005, 88, Urrea Méndez 2009, 339, etc.

25 Havet 1911, 29.

le modèle que suppose sa traduction en latin par Martianus Capella²⁶. Le *Περὶ μουσικῆς* d'Aristide est un ouvrage systématique dont les parties sont clairement distinguées. Sa partie technique est ainsi composée de trois λόγοι (harmonique, rythmique et métrique) introduits chacun par un πίναξ (7, 9-12; 32, 8-10 ; et 40, 28-41, 2 W.-I.), aux intitulés duquel se réfère clairement la première phrase de chaque subdivision : dans l'harmonique, par exemple, la définition φθόγγος μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ, etc. (7, 15-16 W.-I.) renvoie à l'intitulé πρῶτον περὶ φθόγγων du πίναξ (7, 9-10 W.-I.), διάστημα δὲ λέγεται διχῶς, etc. (10, 16-19 W.-I.) à δεῦτερον περὶ διαστημάτων, σύστημα δὲ ἐστὶ, etc. (13, 4-5 W.-I.) à τρίτον περὶ συστημάτων, γένος δὲ ἐστὶ, etc. (15, 21 W.-I.) à τέταρτον περὶ γενῶν, τανὺν δὲ περὶ τόνων, etc. (20, 1 W.-I.) à πέμπτον περὶ τόνων, μεταβολὴ δὲ ἐστὶ, etc. (22, 11-12 W.-I.) à ἕκτον περὶ μεταβολῶν et μέλος δὲ ἐστὶ, etc. (28, 8-10 W.-I.) à ἑβδομον περὶ μελοποιίας ; même chose, dans le traité de métrique. Dans la partie rythmique, en revanche, les cinq intitulés du πίναξ ne correspondent que partiellement aux subdivisions du traité : πρῶτος μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ χρόνος, etc. (32, 11-12 W.-I.) renvoie certes à περὶ πρῶτων χρόνων (32, 8-9 W.-I.), γένη τοίνυν ἐστὶ ῥυθμικά, etc. (33, 29-34, 1 W.-I.) à περὶ γενῶν ποδικῶν, ἀγωγή δ' ἐστὶ ῥυθμική, etc. (39, 26-29 W.-I.) à περὶ ἀγωγῆς ῥυθμικῆς, μεταβολὴ δὲ ἐστὶ ῥυθμική, etc. (40, 1-2 W.-I.) à περὶ μεταβολῶν et ῥυθμοποιία δὲ ἐστὶ, etc. (40, 8 W.-I.) à περὶ ῥυθμοποιίας, mais aucun intitulé de la table des matières ne correspond aux développements sur le χρόνος σύνθετος, le πούς et les ῥυθμοί, qui y sont pourtant introduits d'une manière semblables aux autres chapitres : σύνθετος δὲ ἐστὶ χρόνος, etc. (32, 25 W.-I.), πούς μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ μέρος, etc. (33, 12-13 W.-I.) et τῶν ῥυθμῶν τοίνυν εἰσὶ σύνθετοι, etc. (34, 19-20)²⁷. Le texte grec du πίναξ de la rythmique d'Aristide est d'autre part en désaccord flagrant avec celui que suppose sa traduction en latin par Martianus Capella (IX, § 970: 58, 18-59, 8 Guillaumin) et qui fait état non de cinq, mais de sept chapitres de la rythmique : *Verum numeri genera* (codd. edd. : *doctrinae de numeris partes* corr. Meibom) *sunt septem : primum de temporibus ; secundum de enumeratione temporum* (corr. Petersen Deiters Dick Cristante Guillaumin : *verborum* codd.) : *<quae in numerum cadere possunt>* (add. Guillaumin), *quae in numerum cadere non possunt* (codd. Guillaumin : *non* del. edd. a Meibom), *quae rhythmoide, id est similia numeris, iudicantur—quaeque tribus vocabulis discernuntur, hoc est errhythmmon, arrhythmmon, rhythmoides—; tertium de pedibus ; quartum de eorum genere ; quintum est quod agogen rhythmicam nominamus, id est quo genere numerus modique ducantur ; sextum de conversionibus ; ultimum rhythmopoeia, id est quemadmodum procreatio numeri*

26 Sur tout cela, voir Calvié 2016a.

27 Voir Cäsar 1861, 47 et 81-82, Westphal 1861, 94 [= 1885, 65] et 1883, 158 ; et Deiters 1881, 22-23.

*possit effingi*²⁸. On a depuis longtemps souligné ce désaccord et on a même supposé qu'il résultait de différents accidents textuels²⁹. Une telle supposition vaut mieux que le mutisme de certains savants³⁰ ou l'hypothèse invérifiable d'A. Dick, qui a fait école³¹: "Ex Aristidis quinque rhythmicis partibus M. Cap. VII fecit duas priores artificiose in binas scindens, fortasse ut VII partibus harmonices responderent". Tel qu'il est conservé dans les manuscrits, le texte de ce *πίναξ*, qui ne cadre ni avec sa traduction latine ni avec l'organisation effective du traité, est manifestement corrompu et l'on doit donc essayer d'en restituer la forme originale³².

L'une et l'autre s'accordent sur un point fondamental : le nombre des chapitres de la rythmique s'élevait à sept. En son début, le texte que Martianus avait sous les yeux (manuscrit *μ*) devait donc présenter la leçon *ἑπτα* et non *πέντε* (*μέρη δὲ ῥυθμικῆς ἑπτα*). La suite était probablement déjà corrompue, car l'intitulé du deuxième chapitre ne peut avoir eu la forme que suppose sa version latine : tous les chapitres d'Aristide sont en effet désignés par le nom d'un *élément* musical au génitif introduit par *περί*. Il faut donc supposer qu'un saut du même au même de *ποδικῶν* à *ῥυθμῶν* y avait fait disparaître l'intitulé *περὶ ῥυθμῶν* qui manque chez Martianus³³. Ce saut n'a sans doute pas été commis par le copiste de *μ*, car il se retrouve dans l'archétype médiéval (*δ* = *α* W.-I.) de tous les manuscrits conservés d'Aristide : il faut donc l'imputer au copiste de *β*, le plus proche ancêtre commun de toute la tradition (directe et indirecte). S'étant avisé du désaccord entre le nombre des parties annoncées (sept) et celui des parties effectivement énoncées (six), mais n'ayant pu localiser correctement la lacune, Martianus aura complété le texte à l'aide d'un supplément maladroit ("secundum de enumeratione temporum, etc.") : cela suppose que dans *μ*, les chapitres du *πίναξ* n'aient pas été numérotés (l'encyclopédiste aura ajouté sa propre numérotation par souci de clarté). Ce n'était cependant pas

28 Guillaumin 2011, 58-59, comparé à Meibom 1652, 190-191, Kopp 1836, 753-754, Petersen 1870, 73, Deiters 1881, 14, Dick 1925, 517-518, Willis 1983, 373, Cristante 1987, 156 et Ramelli 2001, 692-694.

29 Voir Meibom 1652, 255, Cæsar 1861, 47 et 82, et Deiters 1881, 14 et 22-23.

30 Winnington-Ingram 1963, 32, Mathiesen 1983, 25 et 95, Barker 1989, 435-436, Colomer 1996, 83, Duysinx 1999, 78 et Ramelli 2001, 1002.

31 Dick 1925, 517. Voir Willis 1983, 373, Cristante 1987, 69, Moretti 2006, 44 et Guillaumin 2011, 241.

32 Voir Dain 1975³, 173 : "si le texte transmis est mauvais, on n'a pas le droit de ne pas essayer de l'amender".

33 Le saut du même au même est une faute extrêmement courante dans les manuscrits des traités techniques, en particulier dans les manuscrits en onciale (voir Ronconi 2003, 112-119).

le cas dans le modèle de μ (β), dont descend également l'archétype médiéval (δ) de tous les manuscrits d'Aristide, car l'intitulé assurément fautif $\text{περὶ πρώτων χρόνων}$ suppose une transposition de l'énoncé $\text{πρώτον περὶ χρόνων}$ (voir le πίναξ de l'harmonique d'Aristide, I, 5 : 7, 9-10 W.-I. : $\text{διαλαμβάνει γὰρ πρώτον περὶ φθόγγων}$). C'est donc le copiste de μ qui, sans doute gêné par l'anomalie $\text{τρίτον περὶ γενῶν ποδικῶν, πέμπτον περὶ ἀγωγῆς ῥυθμικῆς}$, produite par le saut du même au même de β , aura supprimé la numérotation des chapitres. L'intitulé $\text{περὶ πρώτων χρόνων}$, qui présentait une forme correcte dans μ , ainsi que l'atteste la traduction de Martianus Capella ("de temporibus"), ne remonte pas à β , mais à un apographe de celui-ci (γ), qui est le modèle de δ . Un autre saut du même au même (de χρόνων à ποδῶν), qui peut également être imputé au copiste de γ , aura fait disparaître l'intitulé $\text{δεύτερον περὶ ποδῶν}$. À une époque plus récente, cet énoncé aura enfin été harmonisé (suppression de la numérotation disparate des chapitres et conformation du nombre des parties annoncées et effectivement énoncées). Il faut donc distinguer cinq états du texte entre l'exemplaire autographe (α) de l'auteur (2^e-3^e s.) et l'archétype (δ) de toute la tradition manuscrite (9^e-12^e s.) : le plus proche ancêtre commun (β) de toute la tradition directe et indirecte (2^e-4^e s.), un apographe (μ) de ce dernier (3^e-4^e s.), qui forme à lui seul une branche de la tradition et a été utilisé par Martianus Capella (5^e s.)³⁴, et un autre apographe (γ) de β (3^e-4^e s.), qui est le père de l'autre branche de la tradition et a été translittéré dans δ . À δ (l'exemplaire de translittération?) reviendrait ainsi la suppression définitive de la numérotation des chapitres de la rythmique et la correction du chiffre indiquant leur nombre (5 au lieu de 7) ; à γ la transposition $\text{περὶ πρώτων χρόνων}$ et l'omission de $\text{δεύτερον περὶ ποδῶν}$; à μ la suppression des numéros de chapitre expliquant la restitution fautive par Martianus Capella de l'intitulé du chapitre 2 ; et à β l'omission de $\text{τέταρτον περὶ ῥυθμῶν}$. Le texte original (α) du πίναξ devait donc avoir la forme suivante : $\text{μέρη δὲ ῥυθμικῆς ἑπτα · διαλαμβάνομεν γὰρ πρώτον περὶ χρόνων, δεύτερον περὶ ποδῶν, τρίτον περὶ γενῶν ποδικῶν, τέταρτον περὶ ῥυθμῶν, πέμπτον περὶ ἀγωγῆς ῥυθμικῆς, ἕκτον περὶ μεταβολῶν, ἑβδομον περὶ ῥυθμοποιίας}$ ("la rythmique a sept parties, car nous traitons premièrement de temps, deuxièmement de pieds, troisièmement de genres de pieds, quatrièmement de rythmes, cinquièmement de *tempo*, sixièmement de métaboles et septièmement de composition rythmique"). Ainsi restitué, il s'accorde non seulement avec l'organisation réelle du traité de rythmique d'Aristide, mais aussi avec l'ordre du livre II des Ῥυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα , tel qu'on l'a précédemment reconstitué, et avec le πίναξ des Ἀρμονικὰ στοιχεῖα .

34 Voir Bovey 2003, 10.

5 Le témoignage d'Aristide Quintilien (I, 14 et I, 18-19) sur le contenu des chapitres perdus du livre II des Ῥυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα

Nul témoignage n'est sans doute plus fécond pour la reconstitution du livre II des Ῥυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα d'Aristoxène que celui d'Aristide (I, 14 et I, 18-19 : 32, 11-35, 2 et 38, 15-40, 25 W.-I.) : il permet en effet de vérifier l'exactitude de la division en trois chapitres de leur seul fragment conservé, confirme le témoignage de Psellos sur l'organisation du troisième (περὶ γενῶν ποδικῶν) et transmet les informations de loin les plus complètes sur les suivants. Des différentes catégories de χρόνοι distinguées dans le chapitre des temps (I, 14 : 32, 11-33, 11 W.-I.), deux figurent aussi dans le fragment conservé d'Aristoxène (§ 12 et § 14 : 8, 9 et 8, 27 Pearson : πρῶτος χρόνος et σύνθετος χρόνος), une au § 8 (22, 23 Pearson) de Psellos (ποδικὸς χρόνος), trois au § 11 (414, 1-2 Jan) des *Excerpta Neapolitana* (ἔρρυθμος, ἄρρυθμος et ῥυθμοειδὴς χρόνος) et deux autres (στρογγύλος et περίπλεως χρόνος) se retrouvent sous une forme différente (στρογγύλοι et περίπλεω [scil. ῥυθμοί]) dans la section II, 15 (84, 6-7 W.-I.) du traité d'Aristide. Il n'y a aucune raison d'imputer ces deux dernières à Aristoxène : les termes qui les désignent ne sont employés nulle part dans ses écrits conservés ; la section II, 15 d'Aristide (82, 4-84, 10 W.-I.) se rattache essentiellement à l'enseignement des συμπλέκοντες (I, 15-17 : 35, 3-38, 14 W.-I.), tout comme les passages rythmiques de Denys d'Halicarnasse, qui utilise souvent le terme στρογγύλος dans ses traités de stylistique³⁵ ; enfin, quand Aristoxène se réfère à l'idée qu'exprime στρογγύλος, il use du mot πυκνός, dans ses Ῥυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα (§ 31 : 16, 21 Pearson) comme dans ses Ἀρμονικὰ στοιχεῖα³⁶. Il est également évident que la distinction entre les ἀπλοῖ, les πολλαπλοῖ et les ποδικοὶ χρόνοι ne remonte pas à Aristoxène : les ποδικοὶ χρόνοι aristoxéniens dont parle Psellos (§ 8 : 22, 22-30 Pearson) ne s'opposent pas aux ἀπλοῖ et aux πολλαπλοῖ, mais aux χρόνοι τῆς ῥυθμοποιίας ἴδιοι. De même, l'opposition établie par Aristide entre πρῶτος χρόνος et σύνθετος χρόνος n'est pas conforme à l'enseignement d'Aristoxène, qui ne donne pas de nom générique aux temps formés de plusieurs πρῶτοι χρόνοι (§ 10 : 6, 23-26 Pearson) et qui oppose en revanche le σύνθετος χρόνος à l'ἄσύνθετος et au μικτός dans la question des temps de la rythmopée (§ 13-15 : 8, 11-10, 20 Pearson) : la remarque d'Aristide (I, 14 : 32, 27-28 W.-I.) sur la limitation du temps rythmique au quaternaire (μέχρι γὰρ τετράδος προήλθεν ὁ ῥυθμικὸς χρόνος : "car le temps

35 Sur l'appartenance des rythmiciens allégués par Denys d'Halicarnasse aux συμπλέκοντες d'Aristide, voir Fraenkel 1918, 192, Rossi 1963, 54 et Calvié 2016b ; pour les occurrences du terme στρογγύλος chez Denys, voir Aujac 1992, 272 ; et sur la relation entre ce passage d'Aristide et l'enseignement rythmique de Denys, voir Rossi 1963, 45-49 et 90-93.

36 Voir Da Rios 1954, 174.

rythmique procède jusqu'au quaternaire") est en outre à imputer aux *canonici* de Porphyre dont on a précédemment parlé. Seul pose donc problème l'aristoxénisme de la distinction des χρόνοι ἔρρυθμοι, ἄρρυθμοι et ῥυθμοειδεῖς, dont il n'est par ailleurs fait mention que dans les *Excerpta Neapolitana* (§ 11)³⁷. Il est en effet difficile de déterminer les sources de tous les passages rythmiques de ces derniers (§ 9-15 et § 20-22 : 413, 10-415, 12 et 417, 12-418, 9 Jan)³⁸. Si leurs § 9, § 10, § 12, § 13 et § 20 se rattachent aux § 16, § 20, § 17, § 30 et § 9 des Ῥυθμικά στοιχεῖα et leurs § 14 (avec la correction de Weil), § 21 et § 22 aux très aristoxéniens § 6, § 1 et § 12 de Psellos, leurs § 11 et § 15 n'ont pas d'autre équivalent que chez Aristide. Mais si leur § 15 présente une conception de l'ἀγωγή qui ne cadre pas bien avec la notion aristoxénienne homonyme, il mentionne aussi trois différences des pieds congues et nommées conformément à la théorie d'Aristoxène (μέγεθος, γένος et διάρσεις) et pourrait ainsi procurer "a supplement to *El. Rhythm.* 22-29"³⁹. On aurait donc tort d'affirmer sans plus de preuves (argument *ab absentia*) que la distinction des χρόνοι ἔρρυθμοι, ἄρρυθμοι et ῥυθμοειδεῖς n'est pas aristoxénienne, car elle peut par exemple avoir été établie dans le chapitre περὶ ῥυθμοποιίας. Avec la mixité des sources du περὶ χρόνων d'Aristide, contraste fortement l'orthodoxie aristoxénienne de son περὶ ποδῶν (I, 14 : 33, 12-28 W.-I.) : sa première phrase (33, 12-13 W.-I.) reformule en effet le § 16 (10, 21-22 Pearson) des Ῥυθμικά στοιχεῖα, la deuxième (33, 13 W.-I.) leur § 17 (10, 23 Pearson) et la suite (33, 14-28 W.-I.) leurs § 22-29 (14, 19-16, 15 Pearson). Le chapitre περὶ γενῶν τῶν ποδῶν (I, 14 : 33, 29-34, 18 W.-I.), où l'épitríte est admis au nombre des rapports rythmiques, cherche en revanche à concilier la théorie aristoxénienne des genres de pieds et le dogme pythagoricien de l'unité des rapports musicaux : à une reformulation des § 24 et § 30 d'Aristoxène (16, 1-3 et 16, 16-19) modifiés en conséquence (33, 30 et 34, 4 W.-I. : προστιθέασι δέ τινες καὶ τὸ ἐπίτριτον et ὁ δὲ δ' πρὸς τὸν γ' τὸν ἐπίτριτον : "mais certains ajoutent aussi l'épitríte" et "le 4 rapporté au 3 produit l'épitríte"), succèdent ainsi une justification physiologique de l'étendue de chaque genre (34, 6-7 et 11 W.-I. : διὰ τὸ ἐξασθενεῖν ἡμᾶς τοὺς μείζους τοῦ τοιούτου γένους διαγιγνώσκειν ῥυθμούς et

37 Sur les *Excerpta Neapolitana*, voir Calvié 2007, 644-762.

38 La *Quellenforschung* de Westphal (1861, 9-10 et 30-39 ; 1865b, 13-18 ; 1867, 91-92 et 1885, 24) a été réfutée par K. von Jan (1861, 444-445 et 1864, 588), qui a affirmé, sans en apporter aucune preuve (1895, 28), que tous les extraits rythmique du recueil seraient de source aristoxénienne. L'affirmation de L. Pearson (1990, xi : "The remarks about rhythmic theory seem to be taken from Aristoxenus") est tout aussi gratuite, car il s'en tient ensuite, dans ses notes (Pearson 1990, 72-73), à signaler l'aristoxénisme des seuls § 9, § 13, § 14, § 15 et § 20.

39 Pearson 1990, 73.

μέχρι γὰρ τοσούτου τὸν τοιοῦτον ῥυθμὸν τὸ αἰσθητήριον καταλαμβάνει : “du fait de notre incapacité à reconnaître les rythmes plus longs d’un tel genre” et “car la sensation saisit un tel rythme jusqu’à un tel nombre de temps”) à laquelle renvoie clairement (12, 7 Pearson : ὕστερον δειχθήσεται) le § 18 des Ὑθμικά στοιχεῖα (διὰ τί δ’ οὐ γίνεται πλείω σημεία τῶν τεττάρων οἷς ὁ πούς χρήται κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν : “La raison pour laquelle les battues dont se sert le pied, en vertu de sa propre valeur rythmique, ne sont pas plus de quatre sera démontrée plus tard”) et une récapitulation de leurs pieds dont l’origine aristoxénienne est attestée par Psellos (§ 12 : 24, 8-19 Pearson = C12: 71-80 Calvié) et les *Excerpta Neapolitana* (§ 14 : 414, 16-415, 2 Jan) : Aristide y a toutefois pris en compte les pieds du genre épitrite.

À partir du chapitre περὶ ῥυθμῶν (I, 15-18 : 35, 3-39, 25 W.-I.), son témoignage ne peut être confirmé ou infirmé par aucun autre. On a cependant montré ailleurs que contrairement aux sections I, 15-17 (35, 3-38, 14 W.-I.), qui exposent la méthode de classement des rythmes suivie par les συμπλέκοντες, la section I, 18 (38, 15-39, 25 W.-I.) présente celle d’Aristoxène, et que le dernier paragraphe de I, 14 (34, 19-35, 2 W.-I.), où figure la distinction entre les ῥυθμοὶ σύνθετοι, ἀσύνθετοι et μικτοί, en constitue l’introduction⁴⁰. La section I, 19 (39, 26-40, 7 W.-I.) présente presque tout ce qui reste des deux chapitres suivants de la rythmique aristoxénienne : περὶ ἀγωγῆς et περὶ μεταβολῆς. L’aristoxénisme de la définition de l’ἀγωγή (39, 26 W.-I. : ἀγωγή δέ ἐστι ῥυθμικὴ χρόνων τάχος ἢ βραδυτής : “le *tempo* est une rapidité ou une lenteur de temps”) est garanti par la citation porphyrienne du passage d’Aristoxène περὶ τοῦ πρώτου χρόνου (p. 78-79 Düring). La recommandation d’Aristide que le *tempo* ménage un intervalle mesuré entre les deux parties du pied (39, 29-30 W.-I. : ἢ κατὰ μέσον τῶν θέσεων καὶ τῶν ἄρσεων ποσὴ διάστασις : “un écart quantitatif mesuré entre les posers et les levers”) suppose que son modèle traitait ensuite de la limitation des ἀγωγαί par l’αἴσθησις en recourant à la notion de παντελῶς πυκνὴ σημασία, comme c’est le cas au § 31 (16, 21 Pearson) du fragment rythmique d’Aristoxène. La définition de la μεταβολή rythmique (40, 1-2 W.-I. : ῥυθμῶν ἀλλοίωσις ἢ ἀγωγῆς : “un changement de rythmes ou de *tempo*”) donnée par Aristide (I, 19), qu’on retrouve sous une forme légèrement différente (*illi [rhythmi] quo modo coeperrant currunt ad metabolen, id est transitum ad aliud rhythmici genus* : “ceux-ci [les rythmes] courent, comme ils ont commencé, jusqu’à une *metabolè*, c’est-à-dire jusqu’à un passage à un autre genre de rythme”) dans un passage aristoxénien de Quintilien (IX, 4, 50 : 245, 7-9 Cousin)⁴¹, remonte assurément à la même source : elle repose sur trois termes appartenant au vocabulaire d’Aristoxène,

40 Calvié 2015b, 76-82.

41 Sur l’aristoxénisme de ce passage, voir Westphal 1861, 91 et Calvié 2007, 299-303.

dont l'un (ἀλλοίωσις) sert à définir la μεταβολή harmonique dans un passage aristoxénien des *Anonymes de Bellermand* (§ 65 : 19, 3-10 Najock) et dont les deux autres (ῥυθμός et ἀγωγή) sont l'objet des deux chapitres précédents des *Ῥυθμικά στοιχεῖα*. Quant à l'énumération de ses douze τρόποι, elle est conforme au programme d'étude de la *métabole harmonique* fixé par Aristoxène dans le πίναξ de ses *Ἀρμονικά στοιχεῖα* (B 38 : 47, 10-11 Da Rios) : περὶ μεταβολῆς ἂν εἶη λεκτέον, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸ τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ἡ μεταβολή καὶ πῶς γιγνόμενον ("Sur la métabole, il faudrait dire d'abord ce qu'elle est elle-même et comment elle advient"). Tel qu'il se présente dans les manuscrits et dans toutes les éditions, son texte est toutefois corrompu : le nombre des τρόποι annoncés (douze) n'y correspond en effet nullement à celui des τρόποι qui y sont effectivement énoncés (huit ou neuf), leur choix y relève de l'arbitraire et n'épuise pas la combinatoire esquissée (pourquoi y aurait-il par exemple un trope ἐξ ἄσυνθέτου εἰς μίκτον et pas de trope ἐκ συνθέτου εἰς μίκτον?), leur ordre y est absurde (l'ἐκ μικτοῦ εἰς μικτόν devrait suivre immédiatement l'ἐξ ἄσυνθέτου εἰς μίκτον). En s'appuyant sur un témoignage de Bacchios (§ 50 : 304, 6-9 Jan) ou sur la section d'Aristide relative aux différences des pieds (I, 14 : 33, 14-28 W.-I.), les philologues lui ont ainsi fait distinguer vingt-cinq τρόποι différents⁴². Il convient donc de reconnaître que "l'énumération est incomplète" et d'en corriger le texte en tenant compte du fait que la μεταβολή est une ῥυθμῶν ἀλλοίωσις, au lieu de conclure que "la liste peut être complétée de différentes manières", mais qu'"aucune d'entre elles ne semble être entièrement satisfaisante"⁴³. Pour ce faire, on doit recourir, comme on l'a montré ailleurs,⁴⁴ au début du chapitre περὶ ῥυθμῶν d'Aristide (I, 14 : 34, 19-35, 2 W.-I.) et au § 980 de Martianus (IX : 64, 15-65, 6 Guillaumin), qui en a conservé une partie perdue dans l'original grec⁴⁵. Le résultat confirme l'aristoxénisme du début du chapitre περὶ ῥυθμῶν (I, 14 : 34, 19-35, 2 W.-I.) et n'est pas "estremamente invasivo" (il ne suppose que deux homéotéleutes et une transposition entraînée par l'une d'entre elles)⁴⁶ : μεταβολή δέ ἐστι ῥυθμική ῥυθμῶν ἀλλοίωσις ἢ ἀγωγή. γίνονται δὲ μεταβολαὶ κατὰ τρόπους δώδεκα · κατ' ἀγωγήν · κατὰ λόγον ποδικόν, ὅταν ἐξ ἑνὸς εἰς ἕνα μεταβῇ

42 Voir Meibom 1652, 271, Bæckh 1811, 79, Bellermand 1841, 34, Rossbach 1854, 167-169, Cæsar 1861, 243-248, Jullien 1861, 298, Westphal 1865b, 131, Susemihl 1866, 13-14, Westphal 1867, 700, Christ 1878, 49-50, Gevaert 1881, 71, Jahn 1882, 27, Westphal 1883, 161, Ruelle 1913, 55, Schäfke 1937, 226-227, Mathiesen 1983, 102, Barker 1989, 444, Duysinx 1999, 94, Moretti 2006, 74 et 89, Moretti 2010, 134 et 282.

43 Colomer 1996, 95 : "la enumeración está incompleta" ; et Barker 1989, 444 : "the list might be completed in various ways, none of which seems entirely satisfactory".

44 Calvié 2016a.

45 Cæsar 1861, 245-247.

46 Moretti 2006, 75 et Moretti 2010, 283.

λόγον, (<ἢ ἐξ ἴσου εἰς ἡμιόλιον ἢ ἐξ ἴσου εἰς διπλάσιον ἢ ἐξ ἡμιολίου εἰς διπλάσιον> · ἢ ὅταν ἐξ ἑνὸς εἰς πλείους, ἢ ὅταν ἐξ ἀσυνθέτου εἰς μικτὸν <ῥυθμόν, ἢ ἐκ συνθέτου εἰς σύνθετον, ἢ ἐκ συνθέτου εἰς μικτόν>, ἢ ἐκ μικτοῦ εἰς μικτόν ἢ ἐκ ῥητοῦ εἰς ἄλλογον ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἀντιθέσει διαφερόντων εἰς ἀλλήλους ("la métabole rythmique est un changement de rythmes ou de *tempo*. Les métaboles procèdent de douze manière : suivant le *tempo* ; et suivant le rapport arithmétique constitutif des pieds : quand on passe d'un rapport à un autre, <soit d'un égal à un hémiole, soit d'un égal à un double, soit d'un hémiole à un double> ; ou quand on passe d'un à plusieurs ; ou quand on passe soit d'un rythme incomposé à un mixte, < soit d'un composé à un composé, soit d'un composé à un mixte>, soit d'un mixte à un mixte ; ou d'un rationnel à un irrationnel ; ou de rythmes à d'autres qui en diffèrent par opposition").

On ne peut en revanche pas tirer grand-chose du chapitre *περὶ ῥυθμοποιίας* d'Aristide (I, 19 : 40, 8-25 W.-I.) : sa définition (40, 8 W.-I. : *ῥυθμοποιία δέ ἐστι δύναμις ποιητικὴ ῥυθμοῦ* : « la rythmopée est la puissance efficiente du rythme ») ne s'y accorde guère avec le § 13 des *Ῥυθμικά στοιχεῖα* (8, 19-20 Pearson : *ἐπὶ τε τῆς ῥυθμικῆς πραγματείας τὴν ῥυθμοποιίαν ὡσαύτως χρῆσιν τινὰ φαμεν εἶναι* : « dans le domaine rythmique, nous disons de même que la rythmopée est un certain usage ») ni avec le passage correspondant des *Ἀρμονικά στοιχεῖα* (B 38 : 48, 4-10 Da Rios), qui font de la rythmopée et de la mélopée une affaire de *χρήσις*, non de *δύναμις ποιητικὴ* ; et celle de la *τελεία ῥυθμοποιία* (40, 8-10 W.-I.) n'est pas plus aristoxénienne que les remarques de la fin du texte (40, 17-20 W.-I.) sur l'*ἀρίστη* et la *κακίστη* *ῥυθμοποιία*⁴⁷. Quant à la partie centrale du chapitre (40, 10-17 W.-I.), qui énonce les trois *μέρη* de la *ῥυθμοποιία* (*λήψις*, *χρήσις* et *μίξις*) et ses trois *τρόποι* génériques (*συσταλτικός*, *διασταλτικός* et *ἡσυχαστικός*), elle est certes analogue au développement d'Aristide sur la mélopée (I, 12 : 29, 2-30, 15 W.-I.), comme à celui de Cléonide (§ 13-14 : 206, 3-207, 7 Jan), dont l'essentiel remonte assurément à Aristoxène⁴⁸, mais cette analogie n'est qu'apparente : en I, 19 (40, 14-15 W.-I.), Aristide appelle *τρόποι* τῷ γένει (le *συσταλτικός*, le *διασταλτικός* et l'*ἡσυχαστικός*) ce qui constitue en I, 12 (30, 12-15 W.-I.) les trois catégories de la différence ἤθει des mélopées, tandis que l'expression *τρόποι* τῷ γένει y désigne le *διθυραμβικός*, le *νομικός* et le *τραγικός*. Tout cela sent le *bricolage* et laisse supposer qu'Aristide ne disposait pas du chapitre d'Aristoxène *περὶ ῥυθμοποιίας* ou que celui-ci était trop long et trop complexe pour

47 Voir par exemple Moretti 2006, 77. Je laisse provisoirement de côté la question de l'aristoxénisme de la doctrine de la virilité du *ῥυθμός* et de la féminité du *μέλος*.

48 Voir Jan 1870, 10-19, Jan 1895, 171-174, Fuhrmann 1960, 34, Michaelides 1978, 68, Solomon 1980, I-IV et Mathiesen 1999, 366-390.

être résumé en quelques lignes : peut-être n'appartenait-il pas au livre II des Ῥυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα et formait-il leur livre III.

Le livre II des Ῥυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα d'Aristoxène devait donc présenter un traité complet des éléments du rythme musical, composé d'une introduction (§ 1-2 : 2, 1-8 Pearson) et de six chapitres : un περὶ χρόνων (§ 3-15 : 2, 9-10, 20 Pearson) et un περὶ ποδῶν (§ 16-29 : 10, 21-16, 15 Pearson), intégralement conservés ; un περὶ γενῶν τῶν ποδῶν, dont le début seul a survécu (§ 30-36 : 16, 16-18, 21 Pearson) et dont la suite peut être reconstituée à l'aide de Psellos et d'Aristide ; un περὶ ῥυθμῶν, un περὶ ἀγωγῆς et un περὶ μεταβολῆς, qui subsistent sous une forme abrégée et altérée chez Aristide (I, 14 et I, 18-19 : 34, 19-35, 2 et 38, 17-40, 25 W.-I.) et Martianus Capella (IX, 979-980 et 994 : 64, 5-65, 6 et 74, 8-75, 3 Guillaumin). L'introduction (§ 1-2 : 2, 1-8 Pearson), présentait une récapitulation des matières traitées au livre précédent (§ 1 : 2, 1-4 Pearson) et une annonce de la suite du traité (§ 2 : 2, 5-8 Pearson) ; le περὶ χρόνων (§ 3-15 : 2, 9-10, 20 Pearson) quatre sections consacrées à la distinction du rythme et de la chose rythmée (§ 3-8 : 2, 9-6, 14 Pearson), aux grandeurs des temps en général (§ 9-10 : 6, 15-26 Pearson), au temps premier en particulier (§ 11-12 : 6, 26-8, 10 Pearson) et aux temps de la rythmopée (§ 13-15 : 8, 11-10, 20 Pearson) ; le περὶ ποδῶν (§ 16-29 : 10, 21-16, 15 Pearson) quatre sections relatives à la définition des pieds (§ 16 : 10, 21-22 Pearson), à leurs parties (§ 17-19 : 10, 23-12, 19 Pearson), à leur rationalité (§ 20-21 : 12, 20-14, 18 Pearson) et à leurs différences (§ 22-29 : 14, 19-16, 15 Pearson) ; le περὶ γενῶν (§ 30-36 : 16, 16-18, 21 Pearson) cinq sections exposant les trois genres de la rythmopée continue (§ 30 : 16, 16-19 Pearson), le *calcul* de leurs pieds respectifs (§ 31-36, etc. : 16, 20-18, 21 Pearson), la justification de l'étendue de chaque genre (Psellos, § 8 et § 12 : 22, 22-30 et 24, 14-19 Pearson = C8 et C12 : 59-66 et 71-80 Calvié ; et Aristide, I, 14 : 34, 4-14 W.-I.), la réfutation de la thèse canonicienne de la rythmicité des genres triple et épitríte (Psellos, § 9-11 : 24, 1-7 Pearson = C9-11 : 66-70 Calvié) et la récapitulation des pieds de chaque genre rythmique et de leurs battues (Psellos, § 12 : 24, 8-14 Pearson = C12 : 71-80 Calvié) ; le chapitre περὶ ῥυθμῶν trois ou quatre sections dévolues à la définition du ῥυθμός (Porphyre, 78-79 Düring), à l'énoncé des différences des rythmes (Aristide, I, 14 : 34, 19 W.-I. ; et Martianus Capella, IX, 980 : 64, 15-65, 6 Guillaumin) et à leur classement (Aristide, I, 18 : 38, 17-38, 25 W.-I.) ; le περὶ ἀγωγῆς deux ou trois sections contenant une définition du *tempo* (Aristide, I, 19 : 39, 26-29 W.-I.), l'explication du lien l'unissant au χρόνος πρῶτος (Porphyre, 78-79 Düring) et celle de la limitation par l'αἴσθησις de la *densité* des ἀγωγαί (Aristide, I, 19 : 39, 29-30 W.-I.) ; et le περὶ μεταβολῆς deux sections consistant en la définition de la métabole rythmique et dans le *calcul* de ses douze modes (Aristide, I, 19 : 40, 1-7 W.-I.).

Reste à savoir si un seul livre, c'est-à-dire un seul rouleau de papyrus⁴⁹, pouvait contenir cette matière. Les deux premiers livres des Ἀρμονικά στοιχεῖα d'Aristoxène contiennent respectivement près de 28 000 et de 26 500 lettres, tandis que le troisième n'en compte que 17 000 : cette différence s'explique sans doute par le fait que l'exposé des στοιχεῖα commencé au livre II ne tenait pas sur un seul rouleau et qu'il a ainsi été divisé en deux parties⁵⁰. Le nombre de 26 500 à 28 000 lettres par rouleau n'a rien d'anormal : c'est par exemple celui des livres I de la *Physique* d'Aristote (près de 26 000) et de son *De anima* (environ 28 000). Le livre II des Ῥυθμικά στοιχεῖα d'Aristoxène pouvait donc compter 28 000 lettres. Dans le *Vaticanus gr.* 191, son fragment conservé, qui présente le texte de l'introduction, des deux premiers chapitres et du début du troisième (un peu plus de 40% de l'ensemble), compte environ 11 100 lettres (un peu moins de 40% d'un tel rouleau) : rien n'empêche donc que le reste du papyrus n'ait contenu le texte de la fin du troisième chapitre et de la totalité des trois suivants ; quant à la ῤυθμοποιία, elle devait être traitée dans un troisième livre.

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49 Sur cette équivalence, voir par exemple Canfora 2012, 65-72.

50 Cela s'accorde avec la distribution de l'harmonique d'Aristoxène en trois livres, dont les deux derniers formeraient les στοιχεῖα proprement dits (Bélis 1986, 48).

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Classical Metre and the Music of the Renaissance

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to present an analysis of the reception of classical poetic metre in Renaissance music.

Keywords

metre – ancient music theory – Renaissance revival – classical poetry

Metre is important to the meaning of classical poetry, because the writers of ancient Greece and Rome intended their works to be read or sung according to metrical structures. The ‘noble youths’ of ancient Rome learnt the rules which govern the Greek verses of Pindar, Sappho, Alcman, and Homer, and in so doing also discovered the ‘modulating voice of Pindar’s lyre’.¹ The ancients spoke of Sappho not as a sweet poet, but as a ‘sweet singer’.² When Theophrastus wrote of μουσική, he meant both music and poetry, as did everyone up to the time of Philodemus’ *De musica*.³ One anonymous author went

* An earlier draft of this paper was submitted at the Melbourne Conservatorium of Music for the subject ‘Music in the Culture of the Renaissance’. I would especially like to thank my lecturer, John Weretka, for his superb teaching of that subject and for putting me onto the topic of classical metres in Renaissance music in the first place. The present form of the paper owes much to the comments, advice, and bibliographical suggestions provided generously by Donatella Restani. Many thanks also to Andrew Barker. All errors are of course my own.

1 Stat. *Silv.* 5.3. 146-155. My translations throughout, unless otherwise indicated.

2 *Anacreonta* 20. 2: ἡδυμελής δὲ Σαπφώ.

3 Janko 2009, 270-1.

so far as to say that metre predated music.⁴ In ancient times, therefore, an education in poetry was at the same time an education in music: for music, like poetic metre, is full of varying rhythms, of modulations in tone, and of meaning which is beyond words.⁵

What was the influence of classical poetic metre on the music of the Renaissance? That is the problem to be investigated in this paper. After outlining what happened to classical metre following the end of antiquity, I firstly examine the ways in which Renaissance scholars and composers revived classical Greek and Latin metres as part of a rediscovery of ancient conceptions of musical theory and performance, and secondly delineate how classical Greek and Latin metres were incorporated into Renaissance musical compositions.

Metrical Song: Antiquity to the Late Twelfth-Century

After antiquity, metre was preserved in two traditions: that of vernacular music, and that of the Latinate and Byzantine churches. The understanding of classical poetic metres was hampered by linguistic and poetic changes, and the nature of metre was itself transformed in post-classical song. Little musical notation from antiquity survived beyond the first millennium; one of the few well-preserved musical documents containing musical notation from classical antiquity, the Mesomedes hymns, was not published until 1581.⁶

Classical Greek metres were preserved in Byzantium. Byzantine scholars had a great interest in classical and post-classical quantitative poetry;⁷ but to what extent these metres were understood accurately is more difficult to determine. Byzantine liturgical poetry contained many non-classical, recent metrical developments, such as the use of rhyme, isosyllables, and stressed responsions;⁸ it was also heavily influenced by metrical concepts taken from rhetoricians.⁹ In one anonymous Byzantine poem, which reflects the importance of metre to Byzantine scholars, a group of friends on a boat trips discuss the 'flowers of literature' (v. 35), which are said to be the 'iambic beats, epic

4 Prior est musica inuentione metrica; see Ps-Cens.(?) fr. in GL 6. 607 (=ex Aristoxeno fr. 92 Wehrli), ed. and trans. in West 2003, 178.

5 On Ancient Greek music, see West 1992, Pöhlmann-West 2001, Hagel 2009; on Greek metre, see West 1982; for Ancient Roman music, see Wille 1967; for Latin metre see Morgan 2010.

6 West 2013, 199–20.

7 For a fuller discussion see e.g. Valiavitcharska 2013, 18.

8 These were possibly adapted from the Near-East; see Valiavitcharska 2013, 19.

9 Bernard 2014, 44.

rhythms, and metres (μέτρα) of tragedians, rhetoricians, and prose authors'.¹⁰ Byzantine authors were also aware of the close relationship between poetry and music;¹¹ but metre was seen to serve a rhetorical rather than poetic purpose, meaning that metre was associated more with rhetoricians than poets.¹² Byzantine scholarship in the eleventh-century seems to have confounded poetry with rhetoric to the extent that a poet becomes also a rhetor, and ὁ ποιητής means always 'Homer' rather than a poet in general.¹³ Around this time, there was certainly an awareness of the metres of classical Greek poetry: Psellos, for instance, wrote an essay on Euripides and Pisides, comparing their metres.¹⁴ There is, however, evidence that Byzantines scanned classical metre with Byzantine metrical notions, which is to say that they most likely did not understand classical Greek poetic metres as the classical authors had written them. Byzantine syllables had different quantities, and pronunciation had changed markedly. Planudes, whose compilation of Plutarchean musical treatises became influential in Padua when they were acquired by Pace de Ferrara in the fourteenth-century,¹⁵ notes that whereas classical authors had used quantitative metres, contemporary writers only write according to syllabic stress accents: for this reason, the poems of his contemporaries seem to him 'just like a body bereft of a soul; for metre is the soul of a verse'.¹⁶ In Planudes' testament, we thus find the tension between classical quantitative metre and modern attempts to move away from classical models and form new poetic stress patterns.

In the medieval West, classical metres became important to composers who wished to produce polyphonic music of increasing complexity. From the late twelfth- to the early thirteenth-century, composers and theorists of the 'Notre-Dame School' turned to classical metrics in the search for a system which would make it possible to precisely measure the relative length of individual notes.¹⁷ This system was largely provided by Alexander de Villa Dei in his grammatical

10 See Bernard 2014, 44. (vv. 36-7) κρότους ἰάμβων, τῶν ἐπῶν εὐρυθμίας//μέτρα τραγῳδῶν, ῥητόρων λογογράφων.

11 Cf. Psellos, Ep. Sathas 189, 481. 29-30. τὴν γέ τοι ἀρμονίαν μὴ ἐν μέλεσι μόνον ἡγοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔπεσι καὶ λόγῳ πεζῷ ('Do not think that harmony is certainly only in melodies, but it is also in words and in measured [lit. walking/footed] speech'). Greek cited in Bernard 2014, 46.

12 Bernard 2014, 47.

13 Bernard 2014, 47-8.

14 Bernard 2014, 48. On Psellos, see Papaioannou 2013.

15 Gallo 1989, 14.

16 trans. Robins 1993, 14: νῦν οὐδὲν ἀποδεῖν δοκοῦσι σώματος ἐρήμου ψυχῆς· ψυχὴ γὰρ στίχου τὸ μέτρον.

17 Gallo 1985, 3-4.

treatise written at the end of the twelfth-century entirely in leonine hexameters, the *Doctrinale*. According to Villa Dei, there are six main rhythmic modes, corresponding to the six types of feet found in classical metre (dactyl, spondee, trochee, anapaest, iamb, and tribrach); next, Villa Dei argues how each type of foot is made up of different combinations of long and short syllables; finally, he suggests that a short syllable takes up one beat and a long syllable two beats.¹⁸ This was the theoretical basis of what would become *musica mensurabilis*.

Leoninus in his *Magnus liber organi* provides the first written evidence of an attempt to recreate and notate classical metres (or indeed any sort of metre or rhythm) in polyphonic music according to the scheme set out by Villa Dei.¹⁹ There can be little doubt that Leoninus was familiar with classical metres; he was both musician and poet, well-versed in the classical languages.²⁰ Wright has carefully documented the influence of classical Latin verse in Leoninus' poetry: his *Hystorie sacre* is written in classical hexameters in the style of Virgil, with phrases alluding to Horace's *Epistles*; the *De anulo dato* models itself on Ovid's *Amores*, with Ovid's *Anule, formosae digitum uincture* becoming in Leoninus *Anule, qui sacri datus es mihi pignus amoris*; furthermore, his *Ad amicum uenturum ad festum baculi* shares the same form as the love letters found in Ovid's *Heroides*.²¹ None of these poems using quantitative metrics were set to music; but in the modal rhythmic system introduced into the music of the 'Notre-Dame School' of which Leoninus was part, we find some resemblances to classical quantitative metre. The third mode of this system consisted of a long followed by two shorts, the equivalent of a dactylic foot.²² Yet it should be stressed that this system was developed for the production of sophisticated and innovative polyphonic music, rather than for the accurate depiction of classical metres: the majority of Leoninus' music used the first, fifth, and sixth rhythmic modes,²³ musically equivalent to the trochaic foot, and classical Latin texts such as Virgil's *Aeneid* were not sung. Moreover, if one listens to a performance, or examines the score, of a work in the third rhythmic foot, such as Perotinus' *Alleluia Natiuitas*, it becomes clear that the polyphony almost completely obscures any sense of a dactylic rhythm. Nonetheless, these examples show that the classical metres were becoming a model which could

18 Gallo 1985, 3-4; for further examples showing that there was movement of interest in classical quantitative metre as applied to music in the twelfth-century, see Berger 2005, 183f.

19 Wright 1986, 2.

20 Wright 2008, 282.

21 Further examples are provided in Wright 1986, 27.

22 Wright 1986, 30.

23 Wright 1986, 30.

be used for musical purposes, and that musicians were now interested not only in spacing and pitch, but also in the length and time of notes.²⁴

There is, however, a further problem. In seeking to apply classical metre to polyphonic music, these composers were in many ways misapplying ancient metrical and musical theory. In ancient Greece the distinction between long and short syllables was in principle supposed to be clear whether a verse was spoken or sung; the rhythmic patterns were meant to be audible, and the binary between short and long had to be perceptible.²⁵ Thus, as West suggests, the ancient Greek composer of vocal music probably used only a small number of different note lengths to allow for the proportionate values of long and short syllables to be expressed clearly.²⁶ To apply this scheme to polyphonic vocal music therefore meant to introduce a system based on a clear binary of long and short syllables into a musical world without—for the time being, at least—such binary limitations. In later centuries, polyphony would need to be sacrificed to fulfil the ambition of writing music according to correct (or rather, what were understood to be correct) ancient metrical principles.²⁷

From antiquity to the end of the first millennium AD, then, the Latin church and the Byzantine empire preserved some aspects of classical metre. On the Western side, classical Latin poetic metres were preserved with apparent accuracy; although it should be stressed that it is unlikely that metre was performed accurately.²⁸ In performance, the long syllables of iambic dimeter were often substituted for short ones; metres which produced an awkward variance in rhythm were often ignored; and even songs which on paper appeared to follow classical metrics were not often sung as such.²⁹ On the Eastern side, Byzantine scholars could read and write about classical Greek poetic metres. But much of the evidence suggests that Byzantine scholars largely understood these classical metres, not according to the terms of classical metrical notions, but according to their own Byzantine theories about syllabic stress, metrical quantities, and pronunciation.³⁰ It seems that classical Greek metre was not understood

24 Cf. Gallo 1985, 4.

25 The evidence for these assertions is adduced in West 1992, 130ff.

26 West 1992, 131.

27 In the Renaissance, the rich subtleties found in the performance of rhythm and metre in ancient music, such as described in West 1992, 129–153, seem to have been greatly simplified for reasons of clarity (and, perhaps, sanity).

28 Hiley 1993, 143. Cf. McGee 1998 on disputes between theoreticians and performers.

29 Hiley 1993, 143.

30 Robins 1993, 145–6.

according to its own terms until the efforts of the Byzantine scholar Dimitrius Triclinius, in the early fourteenth-century.

Metre's 'Renaissance'

The rediscovery and revival of interest in classical notions of metre can be attributed to three Byzantine scholars working in what has been termed the 'Early Palaeologan Renaissance' (c. 1261-1360).³¹ These three scholars were Thomas Magister, Maximus Planudes, and Dimitrius Triclinius, and together they toiled on classical manuscripts, making annotations and corrections.

Triclinius is important for having rediscovered ancient metrical theory and having attempted to apply that theory in his scholarly work. Triclinius steered the study of metrics away from Byzantine preconceptions and towards classical texts considered according to classical theory. For his study of classical Greek metre, he first made use of a metrical manual written by Hephaestion in the second century.³² Hephaestion's manual on Greek metre had been almost lost in late antiquity,³³ but the manuscript copy used by Triclinius and annotated in his trademark black ink still survives.³⁴ So too do manuscripts on musical theory by Hephaestion's near-contemporaries, most importantly Aristides Quintilianus' treatise on music.³⁵ Hephaestion and Aristides Quintilianus reveal the close connection between music and metre. At one point (xiii. 1/40.4-6), Hephaestion argues that 'the palimbacheiac (species) ... is unfit for the composition of sung verse, but the cretic (species is) fit (for this)'.³⁶ Aristides Quintilianus makes a broader argument for the relationship between metre and music, suggesting that metrical study comprises the third and last part of the technical section of the theoretical half of the art of music (i. 5/6. 8-18), and that metre deals with a song (μέλος, i. 4/5.4) at the level of its language (λέξις, i. 4/5.8).³⁷ Triclinius was therefore dealing with a metrical tradition of which music formed a salient element. Having studied Hephaestion's

31 For an overview, see Fryde 2000. Cf. Runciman 1970.

32 Fryde 2000, 272.

33 Though the sixth-century scholar Choeroboscus mentions it in the preface to a commentary on Hephaestion; see Ophuijsen 1987, 5. Triclinius studied Hephaestion's *Encheiridion* alongside the scholia and commentaries of Longinus and Choeroboscus, see Fries 2015, 536.

34 Fryde 2000, 272.

35 On Aristides Quintilianus' treatise, see Ophuijsen 1987, 8-10. Cf. Calvié 2015.

36 Ophuijsen 1987, 7.

37 As summarised by Ophuijsen 1987, 6.

metrical handbook, Triclinius set about applying ancient theory to ancient texts.³⁸ But there was a problem: Hephaestion's method of classical metrics was imperfect for understanding earlier classical texts.³⁹ Frustrated by lack of progress, even though he could now correctly understand classical iambs,⁴⁰ Triclinius turned to the metrical *scholia* of Heliodoros (c. 100) on Aristophanes. Heliodoros proved too difficult, and metres more complicated than iambs proved elusive.⁴¹ Nonetheless, Triclinius found some success in analysing the formal metrical responsions of dramatic choruses. He also gained an understanding of the principle of strophic responsion in Pindar.⁴² For this reason, he has been described as the first scholar since antiquity to show that lyric poetry cannot be appreciated without an understanding of its metrical structure.⁴³ A note provided by Triclinius in scholia to *Hecuba* 647 also shows that he was aware of the musical function of classical metres: he suggests that while singing a strophe the chorus danced to the right, and that singing an antistrophe they danced to the left.⁴⁴ This is one of the earliest scholarly efforts to imagine the metrical aspect of ancient music performance.⁴⁵

Though other Byzantine scholars were working on metre and music,⁴⁶ Triclinius was first to comprehend the ancient poetry and music according to ancient metrical theory.⁴⁷ Debate rages about where to place the 'Renaissances' of different fields of knowledge. For our purposes, it is profitable to view a 'Renaissance' as a moment at which classical texts were beginning to be understood according to classical theories and through classical contexts.⁴⁸ Triclinius instigated our 'Renaissance' because he sought to extricate the classical principles behind the use of metre and delineate the manner of its musical

38 For his recensions and method, see Aubreton 1949.

39 Fryde 2000, 272.

40 Reynolds & Wilson 2013, 76.

41 Reynolds & Wilson 2013, 76. Cf. Wilson 1983, 253.

42 Fries 2015, 536.

43 Fries 2015, 557. Triclinius also provided marginalia on Ovid editions owned by Maximus Planudes; see Wilson 1978, 389-90.

44 Marshall 2014, 136.

45 Cf. West 1982, 20f, 36-9.

46 See Touliatos-Banker 2010, 192-194, on Moschopoulos' ms on Greek poetic metres. Planudes supposedly had a copy of ancient musical treatises but lost it after lending it out to a friend; see Wilson 1983, 232-34.

47 On Triclinius' editions of Greek drama and poetry, see Parker 1997, 110; Smith 1975 and Itsumi 2009 show how Triclinius' scholarship remains important to the study of metre and Greek poetry.

48 Cf. Lowinsky 1954.

performance. This, as we shall see, eventually transformed the musical culture of Europe.

Musa Pedestris Rediuiua

Particular cultural and social movements were necessary for classical poetry, in its original language or in translation, to seize the popular (as opposed to the scholarly) imagination.

Firstly, the aristocracies of Europe favoured classical culture. An eccentric example of this is Margaret of Austria, who modelled her court on the myth of the Trojan War and portrayed herself as a sixteenth century Dido.⁴⁹ The aristocracies, enthusiastic towards classical culture,⁵⁰ demanded music inspired by the classics.⁵¹ It was now noble and *de rigueur* for aristocratic youths to learn classical poetry. Patronage now supported classical scholarship and institutions based on classical principles.⁵² This also formed part of a wider cultural project which aimed to recreate classical society complete with its value system (or at least the Renaissance conception of classical society and its value system).

Secondly, classical poetry in its original language infiltrated popular music and song. Beforehand, classical texts had been combined with popular lyric in translation.⁵³ In motets from the thirteenth-century, one finds quotations from classical poems in the original Latin macaronically worked into popular song; phrases from the Old and New Testament are sung alongside fragments of Horace or Ovid.⁵⁴ One such motet, based on the poem *Court de Paradis*, whose musical setting is lost, concerns the theme of erotic love; two of its refrains are translations into Old French of Ovid's *Ars amatoria*.⁵⁵ Another, by Phillipe de Vitry, quotes in Latin the first line of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; the duplum is notable because different phrases from the Latin must be sung at the same time. Adaptions of ancient material were very popular in France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, though considered debauched

49 Zywiec 2004, 245-254.

50 This topic is discussed in detail in Botley 2004.

51 Zywiec 2004, 245-254.

52 Grafton 1985, 622.

53 Cf. Strunk 1930, 484.

54 For a detailed discussion see Everist 1994; and especially Butterfield 2002, 75-102.

55 Huot 1997, 78.

because of their eroticism.⁵⁶ These musical works were not attempts to set the metre of classical poems to music, but they set a precedent by combining classical poetry with contemporary secular music.

So a new type of music was created: 'humanist' music.⁵⁷ To clarify the meaning of the term 'humanist', we may describe it as music written according to Renaissance conceptions of the classical world. Renaissance musicians and musical theorists sought to give authority to their works and writings by citing ancient sources as justification for their own ideas. The extent to which humanism dominated musical taste may be observed by reference to the opening of many musical treatises from the Renaissance.

From at least 1300 onwards the relationship between music and poetry became central to the culture of the Italian Renaissance.⁵⁸ The musical treatises of Marchetto de Padova were important in crafting the humanist conception of music.⁵⁹ Between 1317 and 1318 Marchetto worked on his musical treatise, *Lucidarium*,⁶⁰ in which he appealed to the practical rather than theoretical side of music: to the *cantores* of the cathedrals and churches rather than the *musici* of the universities.⁶¹ The first section of the *Lucidarium* provides citations about music from Latin authors. Marchetto's use of ancient authorities has been seen as an attempt to establish authority in a field of knowledge.⁶² In the tenth section of the *Lucidarium*, Marchetto moves to a discussion of measured music.⁶³ His innovation was to add to the theoretical understanding of musical time by dividing the breve into four *divisiones*: in the first, the breve is divided into three major semibreves, each of which are in turn divided into smaller semibreves.⁶⁴ These theoretical developments were based on one of Marchetto's musical tenets, that 'truth in music lies in the numbers of ratios'. Herlinger has pointed out that this statement owes much to a quotation of Remi of Auxerre, that 'truth is contained in numbers'.⁶⁵ Like

56 Hunt 2008, 1-5.

57 See Wille 1967, 228.

58 Cf. Gallo 1976, 473, "E la relazione tra musica e poesia, nei suoi molteplici aspetti, sembra costituire una tema ricorrente nella cultura padovana del Trecento".

59 Marchetto was also an active composer, and some of his motets have been identified in Gallo 1968.

60 Gallo 1974, 44.

61 Herlinger 1985, 546-51.

62 Cf. Witt 2000, 113.

63 Cf. the extensive discussion in Gallo 1976.

64 This system is described in greater detail in Berger, 640.

65 Herlinger 2006, 170. Cf. *Lucidarium* 1. 4. 5 (Herlinger trans. 1985, 84-5); Remi *Commentum in Martianum Capellam* 46. 8.

his contemporaries, Marchetto was influenced by the notion of ‘the music of heaven’ which so occupied the musicians of the Middle Ages.⁶⁶ In this early Renaissance conception, however, the quantitative patterns of poetic metres formed part of the harmonic structure of the cosmos.⁶⁷

This view became prominent. A later work, the *Liber Musices* (c. 1485–1492) by Florentius de Faxolis, contains a discussion of ancient testimonies regarding the rational basis of musical education. Florentius opens his treatise by arguing that the ancients laid the foundations of all disciplines and that their notions of music still remain relevant. In describing music and its connection with the ancient military, Florentius at once connects music with the militaristic, and thus honourable, virtues:⁶⁸ ‘military men too used to form the column of march and the line of battle by the playing of music . . .’⁶⁹ Further on, Florentius suggests that, without metre, poetry is merely primitive:

The music of the ancients, too, was simple, as indeed Boethius relates; then gradually men’s minds made it more complex. This is how Censorinus confirms it:

Do not think that songs predated metre, but [only] rustic and uncouth ones; and after these poetry flourished, being so to speak rule-bound music with greater license and more restrained.⁷⁰

Metrical music is preferable because it is rational, even mathematical. This notion of the rational in music is significant. Metre becomes a means by which to understand the underlying principles of nature; in this case, metre is the rational principle lying behind music and poetry. Inquiries into the rational principles of cosmic harmonies later came to obsess sixteenth-century Italian musical theoreticians.⁷¹ Classical poetry was thus seen as rational because it operated with fixed rules of measurement and could be replicated through knowledge of its principles.

Florentius does not refer directly to any Greek sources; this is largely due to a widespread phenomenon in Western Europe—ignorance of the Greek

66 Cf. Gallo 1976, 473.

67 Herlinger 2006, 170.

68 For Florentius, I have used the edition and translation of Blackburn and Holford-Strevens 2010.

69 Blackburn and Holford-Strevens 2010, 14–17.

70 Blackburn and Holford-Strevens 2010, 20–21, for Latin text.

71 DeFord 2015, 27–30.

language.⁷² For this reason, authors writing about music relied on Latin sources. Hence, after the invention of the printing press, the majority of ancient works about music were written by Latin authors.⁷³ We have already seen how Triclinius and Planudes were aware of and interested in ancient Greek treatises on musical theory; but they were Byzantines and could read Greek. To what extent were Renaissance musical theoreticians in western Europe influenced by the music-theory writings of ancient Greece and Rome?

This question has been thoroughly investigated by Gallo. On the whole, ancient Greek sources were slower to have an influence on Renaissance theoreticians; once disseminated, however, the Greek texts became far more important than the Latin. Ancient Greek music theory first gained importance in translation, the most important works being the *Sectio Canonis* attributed to Euclid;⁷⁴ Aristoxenos' *Harmonica*; fragments on rhythm attributed to Euclid and Aristoxenos; Aristides Quintilianus' *De musica*; a work of the same name attributed to Plutarch; Nichomachus' *Enchiridion*; the *Introductio Harmonica* of both Gaudentius and Kleonides; Ptolemy's *Harmonica*; Alypius' *Introductiones Musicae*; and Manuel Bryennios' fourteenth-century *Harmonica*.⁷⁵ So a slim but valuable number of Greek works were transmitted into the Renaissance of western Europe.

Before we turn to a discussion of how Renaissance composers incorporated classical poetic metres in their compositions, it is worth commenting on what classical poetry sounded like in musical performance according to Renaissance humanists who had read Greek and studied with Byzantine scholars. Ludovico Carboni (c. 1430-1485) was an orator in the service of Ercole d'Este and a teacher of rhetoric at the University of Ferrara in the latter half of the fifteenth-century. Between May and October 1473 he wrote a prose narrative, *Dialogus de neapolitana profectione*, dedicated to Ferdinand of Aragon, the king of Naples, based on events in the lives of the Este family.⁷⁶ In its preface, Carboni comments on the relationship between classical poetry and voice:⁷⁷ *nec enim sine cantu aliquo proferenda sunt carmina* ('for poems should not be delivered without any singing').⁷⁸ Elsewhere, Carboni provides more

72 Cf. Gallo 1989, 9.

73 For a list of authors, see Gallo 1989, 10.

74 Cf. Barker 1989, 190ff., for discussion of the authorship of the *Sectio Canonis*.

75 Gallo 1989, 10-11, for fuller discussion of the above.

76 Gallo 1995, 69.

77 Cf. Nuovo 1978.

78 *Ludovici Carbonis Dialogus de neapolitana profectione*, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS vaticano latin 8618, fols. 32r-79r; cf. Gallo 1995, 69.

information about his method of performing classical poetry: *ego certe uersus meos ut plurimum facio apollineam cytharam in manu tenens* ('I certainly indeed compose my verses while holding an Apollonian cithara in hand').⁷⁹ Carboni no doubt owed his custom of singing Latin verse with instrumental accompaniment to the teaching of Guarino (c. 1374-1460),⁸⁰ who was, with Palla Strozzi (c. 1372-1462), among the first generation of Italian students of Greek in the Renaissance.⁸¹ Strozzi, a Florentine noble, learned Greek after arranging for the Byzantine scholar Manuel Chrysoloras to come to Florence to teach the language; he was also a patron of Greek learning, buying Greek texts from Constantinople and bringing Greek scholars to Italy to teach new students.⁸² Guarino lived for five years in Constantinople with Manuel Chrysoloras from 1403 onwards, and there he learnt the language and literature of Greece and acquired numerous Greek codices.⁸³ Guarino also seems to have taken an interest in ancient Greek musical performance: in a letter of 1408 he discusses Timotheos, the musician of Alexander the Great, and wonders how music that has such power over the emotions can be recreated.⁸⁴ Elsewhere, Guarino seems fascinated by the use of music in ancient Greek society:

maiores nostri non lascivientem, sed sobriam conuiuuiis adhibere musicam; quocirca nullas fere festas apud prius saeculum legis, quibus cantores non interfuissent.⁸⁵

Our ancestors did not employ lascivious but serious music at their dinner parties; you read about almost no feasts in that earlier age in which singers were not present.

Carboni, having studied with Guarino, knew Greek, and often quotes Greek in his orations.⁸⁶ He notes that Guarino was the one who taught his students to write Latin verses with musical accompaniment: *texere perdoci resonanti carmina plectro* ('I taught well how to weave poems with a sounding plectrum').⁸⁷

79 Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2948, t. 23, 371; cf. Gallo 1995, 70.

80 See Carboni's dedicatory poem to Guarino in Garin 1952, 392.

81 Diller 1961, 313.

82 Diller 1961, 313-317 for a list of the Greek texts Strozzi brought to Italy.

83 Diller 1961, 317-321 for a list of the Greek texts acquired by Guarino.

84 Gallo 1995, 70.

85 Gallo 1995, 71.

86 D'Elia 2004, 44.

87 Gallo 1995, 72.

Guarino was therefore teaching classical poetry as a musical art. This attitude had a significant cultural influence. In the court library of the Este family in Ferrara, a cithara was always present in the library.⁸⁸ Latin song came to be seen as superior to vernacular song; it was élite not only because it required considerable understanding of both music and metre, but also because it connected high-ranked families with what they saw as their Roman ancestors.⁸⁹ At gatherings of the most noble citizens, performers would be handed a *lyra* and asked to sing metrical verses, either prepared or improvised.⁹⁰ There was also a profound change in how music was heard: whereas in the fourteenth-century music tended to suggest inner Christian rapture and the work of angels, in the fifteenth performers began to invoke non-Christian religious deities such as Orpheus, Amphion, and Apollo, as their muses reborn.⁹¹

Lippo Brandolini was by far the most prominent figure among these Renaissance Latin poets who accompanied themselves with a lyre. Though blind,⁹² he could improvise *impromptu* Latin verse on any topic in any metre. The surge in admiration for sung Latin verse was partly due to the support of Pope Pius II, who enjoyed not only hearing but also playing this type of music.⁹³ According to Lippo's brother, Raffaele Brandolini, Pius II 'took such delight in metrical poetry performed to the *lyra* that he valued this one kind of pleasure above all others' (*Pius II pontifex maximus usque adeo poeticis numeris ad lyram est delectatus, ut unum hoc uoluptatis genus caeteris omnibus anteferet*).⁹⁴ Brandolini's performances were extremely popular among the public: having become famous in Rome, he was employed in 1489 by King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary, and later returned to Florence to teach oratory and rhetoric as part of the Augustinian order.⁹⁵ One of his most famous concerts was given in Verona on 8 October 1494 where he improvised in competition with the poet Virgilio Zavarise; the 'programme' for this concert still survives. The question we must ask in examining this programme is whether or not Lippo followed the classical quantitative metres. Curiously, Lippo's parts of the concert were all sung in distichs; his opponent, Virgilio, sang only in hendecasyllables.⁹⁶

88 Gallo 1995, 74.

89 See e.g. Raffaele Brandolini's *De musica et poetica*; discussed in Gallo 1995, 80.

90 Gallo 1995, 85.

91 Gallo 1995, 94.

92 Gallo 1995, 82.

93 Gallo 1995, 77.

94 Gallo 1995, 78.

95 Gallo 1995, 81-2.

96 The Latin text of the programme is discussed in detail in Gallo 1995, 82-4.

Matteo Bosso, a critic of the concert, confirms that the singers must have adhered to the Latin metres strictly: '[Lippo] sang metrical verses [lit. he put to music poetic metres]' (*modulatus est numeros*).⁹⁷ Given the context, *modulor* must refer to the act of consciously reciting the long and short syllables in a clear manner.⁹⁸ To Bosso, Lippo surpassed even the poets of antiquity in his song.⁹⁹ It therefore seemed that the invocation Lippo had written fourteen years earlier to Apollo and the Muses, in the preface to his *Libellus de laudibus musicae et Petriboni* (c. 1480), had been fulfilled:

Huc ades ad numeros citharamque, et carmina cantus
 affer ab imparibus uecta elegia modis.
 Tu quoque, dum canimus Musarum munera, Phoebe,
 4 huc uenias, Musis sed comitate tuis.¹⁰⁰

Come here to my measured verses and cithara, and bring poems of song, an elegy carried forth by mixed modes. You also, Apollo, while we sing the gifts of the Muses, come here, accompanied by your Muses.

The Muses in Italy

We are now in a position to elucidate the divergent theoretical and compositional approaches to classical poetic metre which emerged throughout Europe. In each case, however, we must differentiate between the theoreticians on the one hand, and the free compositional techniques of composers and musicians on the other. This means that, even if metrical theory was exceedingly strict, metre could be conveyed more freely in music. In Italy, Germany, and France,

⁹⁷ Gallo 1995, 85.

⁹⁸ In the classical period, *modulor* could mean "to regulate (sounds or songs) in accordance with the rules of melody, pitch, rhythm, etc"; "to set to music" or "put into metre"; "to play (a musical instrument)"; or "to test or find by use of a standard of measurement, measure". See *OLD s.v.* 1a, b; 2a, b; 3a, b; 4. *Numeros* in this case refers to poetic measures, metres, metrical lines of verse, or metrical feet (*OLD s.v.* 14 a, b, c). The phrase thus suggests the regulation of metres in a musical context.

⁹⁹ 'With regard to the lyra . . . Apollo and Amphion yield to him. By this one thing he is victorious over the famous poets: that what they hammered out through long nights and by burning the midnight oil, he fashions and sings extemporaneously'; see Gallo 1995, 85.

¹⁰⁰ Gallo 1995, 118. Gallo, 92, further notes that Lippo invokes not the pen or paper, but the 'unwritten tradition' of metrical song.

scholars and composers differed in their conception of how classical metres could be expressed music.¹⁰¹

Italy was one of the most significant centres of patronage for musical humanism.¹⁰² Its noble families were, as we have already seen, fascinated by the idea that they were the descendants of classical ancestors, and believed that for society to advance it would have to build on the foundations set by ancient minds. It was also a place where theories of metre were constantly being discussed and reformulated.

One of the fundamental early texts on the relationship between ancient metre and music is Francesco Negro's *Brevis Grammatica* (1480). In this work, Negro discusses the musical elements connected to poetic technique, and details different types of musical *harmonia*, corresponding to classifications of ancient poetry: *heroica grauis*, *heroica bellica*, *elegiaca*, *sapphica*, and *lyrica*.¹⁰³ Included in the discussion are annotations of secular music. These are the first 'measured' verses (*musica mensurabilis*) to be printed: that is, the first classical poetic verses to be presented with musical notations corresponding to the ancient metres.¹⁰⁴ Negro's *Grammatica* is in many ways revolutionary, the logical conclusion of Renaissance musical movements devoted to discovering the connections between classical quantitative metre and musical harmonies.

Franchino Gaffurio (b. 1451) was another Italian musical theoretician who devoted a large amount of energy to metrical considerations.¹⁰⁵ He was intrigued by ancient theories of music, having read Plato's *Republic* and *Laws* in Marsilio Ficino's translation, as well as Aristotle's *Politics*.¹⁰⁶ Learning from these texts that music had the power to affect moral character, he urged composers to choose modes depending on what sort of mood they wished to create.¹⁰⁷ In old-age, he maintained contact with Venetian scholars who were

101 Although attempts to recreate classical poetic metres were also made in England, they were restricted to English verse and did not seem to extend into music; they are therefore slightly beyond the scope of this paper, but for those interested it is worth consulting Attridge 1974 for an extensive overview; see also Rhodes 2009 for a briefer, but far less comprehensive, discussion.

102 For the Italian context, see Palisca 1985.

103 Gallo 1981, 312.

104 Gallo 1981, 312.

105 He drew heavily on musical treatises which were primarily mathematical, cf. Gallo 1981, 306.

106 Cf. Gallo 1989, 19ff., on Gaffurio's understanding of Greek music-theory sources.

107 Palisca 2006, 73.

working on a new area of study which fascinated him: the rediscovery and cultural revival of Greek music theorists.¹⁰⁸

Gaffurio's *Theorica musicae* (1492) argued that universal harmonies were ruled by numerical ratios.¹⁰⁹ Musical training was seen to be a means for 'moderating the motions of the soul under rule and reason [*sub regula rationeque*]' because only 'motions of the soul [*motus animi*] ... that agree with reason belong to the right harmony of life [*qui rationi conueniunt ad rectam uitae pertinent harmoniam*]'.¹¹⁰ Gaffurio's emphasis on reason over passion is made evident in the poetic preface of the work, in which Gaffurio suggested that whereas music had once been ruled by passion, it was now a domain inhabited by reason [*nunc ratio est; prima libido fuit*].¹¹¹ The notion that numbers provided the underlying harmony of the universe with its structure and meaning came to dominate Gaffurio's later works. In the second and fourth books of *Practica musicae* (1496) he treated the subject of poetic metre and rhythm at length. He draws extensive comparison between poetic metre and musical rhythm, arguing that both poets and musicians assign time values and give them symbols.¹¹² Quoting Aristides Quintilianus, Gaffurio notes that rhythm 'consists of times in space', and that it should be understood as 'measured composition grasped not by metrical theory but by the number of syllables as judged by the ear ... Rhythm, indeed, seems quite similar to metre. Yet it cannot exist by itself without metre. For metre is theory with measure, rhythm is measure without theory'.¹¹³ Gaffurio's interpretation of metrical and rhythmic notation was innovative;¹¹⁴ on the one hand, metre was now seen to be both theoretical and practical, in that it could now no longer be perceived as an abstract difficulty far removed from rhythm, which is far more easily comprehended by the ear; on the other hand, rhythm was now reconceived as part of the mind's rational instincts of measuring and decoding those measurements.¹¹⁵ Sound could now be understood as number; forty years later, Fogliano would

108 Gallo 1981, 304; as Gallo further notes, "Questi [Greek] autori erano rimasti praticamente sconosciuti durante tutto il Medioevo salvo quel poco che ne riferivano indirettamente Boezio o altri scrittori latini dei primi secoli". This merely emphasises that the scholars who had previously also rediscovered Greek musical theory did so in a very isolated environment, with little influence on culture.

109 Reiss 1989, 513.

110 Trans. Reiss 1989, 513.

111 Gaffurio 1492, preface.

112 Reiss 1989, 513. This paragraph is indebted to Reiss's study.

113 Trans. Reiss 1989, 513.

114 Reiss 1989, 513.

115 Reiss 1989, 513.

challenge this view by suggesting that “[s]ound was *not* number, but its motion and rational effect might be described *by* number”.¹¹⁶ By rationalising music in this way, Gaffurio was contributing ideas which became central to rational aesthetics.¹¹⁷

In the tenth chapter of the last section of *De Harmonia* (c. 1518), Gaffurio made some important practical examples of the reconstruction of ancient music. He set a verse of a Latin Sapphic Ode written by the Milanese poet Lancino Curzio to music in two different ways: firstly in the Doric mode (*secundum Dorii moduli naturalem constitutionem*) and secondly in the Hypodorian mode (*secundum autem Hypodorii moduli dispositionem*).¹¹⁸ More importantly, however, Gaffurio set the metre in a manner suited to Renaissance musical theory. Each long syllable in the text corresponded to a breve; each short syllable corresponded to a semibreve.¹¹⁹ Hence metrical lengths were set in relative terms, with all longer syllables corresponding to longer notes and all shorter syllables corresponding to shorter notes. In this, Gaffurio imitated exactly the ancient performance of metre.¹²⁰

When composers operating in Italy at the same time came to write music with classical texts as lyric, did they follow the metre accurately in this way?¹²¹

Josquin Desprez's motet *Dulces exuuiæ*, based on text from Virgil's *Aeneid*,¹²² was one of the earliest works by a major popular composer to use a classical Latin source text. It was probably written for the court of Margaret of Austria,¹²³ who, as we have already seen, considered herself Dido reincarnate. Desprez's piece did not imitate Virgil's metre, but appears more interested in developing counterpoint and polyphony around the Latin text; many composers followed his precedent. Willaert's *Dulces exuuiæ* exemplifies how verse was used without musical imitation of metrical rhythms. The piece is a declamation motet,¹²⁴ appropriate for the fated words of Dido; it bases its melody on phrase structures, not on the epic hexameter.¹²⁵ From mm. 89–mm. 95 each musical phrase

¹¹⁶ Reiss 1989, 514.

¹¹⁷ Reiss 1989, 513.

¹¹⁸ Gallo 1989, 22.

¹¹⁹ Gallo 1989, 22.

¹²⁰ West 1992, 202; see also 130.

¹²¹ Wille 1967, 230ff., lists a large number of works of the metrical sort.

¹²² Josquin's motet gave birth to many little *Dulces Exuviae* written by his successors, e.g. Orlando di Lasso. Strunk 1930, *passim*. Sixteen musical settings of *Dulces exuviae* were composed in the sixteenth century; see Skei 1976, 77–91.

¹²³ Zywiets 2004 makes a persuasive case for the context of Desprez's Virgil settings.

¹²⁴ “Motettisch-deklamatorischen”, Wille 1967, 230. Cf. Sparks 1963, 345.

¹²⁵ Wille 1967, 230.

is shaped around the words *nostra carinae*; the movement from A to E in the bass (mm. 94-95) creates a melancholy effect,¹²⁶ portraying Dido's distress, but not the pathos the metre brings to those words.¹²⁷ It is nonetheless significant that the Latin text was used at all, and that there was an appreciation for the authenticity of a text in its original language.

Some composers did, however, set the classical metre according to Gaffurio's scheme. In the motet *Tityre, tu patulae*, the text of which is taken from Virgil's *Eclogues*,¹²⁸ Orlando di Lasso accurately imitates classical poetic metre.¹²⁹ The metre of the Latin text is hexameter; each line is made up of five trisyllables and one disyllable. Lasso imitates this metre by demarcating a long note as a long syllable and a short note as a short syllable. The opening of the motet, particularly mm. 1-mm. 3, is focused on each Latin syllable, with the singers in unison.¹³⁰ Hence *Tityre* is one dactylic trisyllable, comprised of a long stress followed by two short stresses, equivalent to one long note and two shorter notes in the music (mm. 1). No pre-compositional scheme tying specific notes to a specific metrical value is apparent. One might argue that for Cantus 1 long stresses are usually portrayed by a C, but this is not followed absolutely even in the first bars (e.g. mm. 4). There is, however, a pattern of two shorter descending notes after a longer note (mm. 1-3, 5): so, for Cantus 1, long C is followed in descending scale by a shorter B and A, a pattern of rising and falling, like a heartbeat. It is not clear for what purposes these metrical works were written.¹³¹

Cypriano de Rore also accurately depicted classical poetic metre. De Rore's *Donec gratus eram tibi*,¹³² scored for two four-voice choirs, depicts a male speaker by low voices and a female speaker by high voices.¹³³ Rore studied the text in detail, and carefully decided how to put it into music. As Owens has demonstrated, Rore is largely faithful to the asclepiad rhythm of Horace's text, taking only some liberties to permit more natural musical phrasing; the writing is homophonic, allowing the metrical lengths to be discerned more clearly.¹³⁴ Rore also emphasises important stresses in the Latin verse. In the

126 Smith 2011, 77-78.

127 Verg. *Aen.* 4. 651-658.

128 Verg. *Ecl.* 1.1-10.

129 This piece is also a declamatory motet, evidently a popular form for depicting words spoken in literature.

130 Wille 1967, 231. Wille, although acknowledging these finer details, overlooks the piece's thorough treatment of metre.

131 See Haberl and Sandberger 1908, viii.

132 Hor. *Od.* 3.9.

133 Tarrant 2012, 6.

134 Owens 1983, 95ff.

last stanza the male speaker's declaration of reconciliation (*quid si*) is given a longer note value, emphasising the crucial nature of the proposal.¹³⁵ But in the final repetition of the woman's last words, the choruses join together, bursting into polyphony and breaking from the metre of Horace's poem.¹³⁶

The music of the foregoing composers may be viewed as one major response to the problem of treating classical poetry and its metre in music.¹³⁷ Their main concern was not to set the ancient metre in an authentic way but to fit classical poems into the traditional motet and chanson forms of polyphonic music. Their music was humanistic, but did not seek to be formally didactic in its treatment of metre.

The Muses in Germany

- 21 Sic uelis nostras rogitamus oras
 Italas ceu quondam aditare terras;
 Barbarus sermo fugiatque, ut atrum
 Subruat omne.

So now we pray to you [Apollo]: Come to us as you came to Italy. Let barbarian speech be driven out and the whole fabric of darkness collapse.¹³⁸

This is the final stanza of Conrad Celtis' 1486 poem entitled 'To Apollo, the Inventor of Poetry, that he may leave the Italians and come to the Germans'. Celtis, a classical scholar and poet, instigated another form of metrical music in Germany towards the end of the fifteenth-century. This tradition set metre in music more for didactic than for musical purposes. Celtis was concerned with how to teach classical metres to his students, specifically the metrical odes of Horace. He founded a society in Vienna, the *Sodalitas Litterraria Danubiana*. Tritonius, Hofhaimer, and Senfl were members. One of the academic aims of the group was to advance the cause of didactic metrical Latin music.¹³⁹ He declared his aim, stirred by German nationalism, in a letter of 1491, in which

¹³⁵ Tarrant 2012, 6.

¹³⁶ Tarrant 2012, 6.

¹³⁷ For a list of musical works by these composers, and very brief comment on each of their qualities (e.g. homophonic, motet, declamation-motet) see Wille 1967, 229-231.

¹³⁸ Text and translation in Forster 1948, 20-21.

¹³⁹ Stanyon 2009, 159.

he claimed he would 'stimulate and awaken those Germans who excel in learnedness and genius' and '[force the Italians to] confess that... the splendour of letters has migrated to the Germans'.¹⁴⁰

To assist his students in learning twenty two metrical patterns found in Horace, Celtis asked his student, the composer Petrus Tritonius,¹⁴¹ to set their metres to music.¹⁴² Celtis' desire to find a musical solution to learning difficult poetic metres reflects Renaissance didactic methods, which were influenced by the memory techniques of the Middle Ages.¹⁴³ Tritonius' collection of ode-settings were completed between 1494 and 1497,¹⁴⁴ but published in 1507.¹⁴⁵ The metre of Horace's odes was thus brought into music for teaching purposes,¹⁴⁶ because this collection was accurate in its depiction of metrical patterns, it helped students understand how to approach Latin scansion. The work was pedagogically influential, used extensively in German schools in the sixteenth-century.¹⁴⁷

Tritonius' compositions provide a systematic setting of metrical patterns from Horace's odes.¹⁴⁸ The arrangements were written for a four-part choir in homophony, with metrical rhythms being imitated by breves and semibreves.¹⁴⁹ Because Tritonius limits himself to movement between breves and semibreves, the musical expression is restricted. The first *Odenkomposition* in the collection has text from Horace's first ode,¹⁵⁰ and the remaining pieces each work through a different metrical pattern. The metre of this ode is the Asclepiadeus

140 Stanyon 2009, 159.

141 His German name was Peter Treibenreif. Nothing is known of Tritonius apart from the facts that he wrote these Odes and that he was a student of Celtis, see Liliencron 1887, 6.

142 Gangwere 2004, 446.

143 See Carruthers 2008, *passim*.

144 Liliencron 1887, 5.

145 Stanyon 2009, 160.

146 Liliencron 1887, 7.

147 Indeed it was used all through Germany. See Gangwere 2004, 446. One might ponder to what extent this combination of rigorous classical scholarship and music was responsible for the musical heights Germany reached in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth century.

148 The title of the 1507 edition was *Melopoiae Sive Harmoniae Tetracentiae super XII genera carminum Heroicum Elegiacorum Lyricorum & ecclesiasticorum hymnorum*. The title of the 1526 edition was *Exiit in publicum Aldi Manutii compendium anno a natali Christiano 1526 una cum modis undeviginti odarum Horationarum*.

149 Stanyon 2009, 160.

150 Hor. *Od.* 1.1.

minor, the opening lines of which are *Maecenas atavis edite regibus / o et*. The first two words, *Maecenas atavis*, are three longs followed by two shorts and a long. In the music, therefore, one finds three long notes followed by two shorts and a long. Unlike the work by Lasso earlier discussed, there is here no apparent attempt to link specific notes with specific metres, nor to place additional stress on the caesura (mm. 3), nor to demonstrate the quality of rising and falling; it contains neither counterpoint nor polyphony.¹⁵¹ One difficult metre that can be understood clearly through the method of Tritonius is the First Archilochian metre of *Diffugere nives*.¹⁵² The metrical rhythm is made evident through note lengths, without the need to memorise complex metrical tables. In these pieces, it was necessary to write homophonically so that the music would remain an effective way of learning metre. One can imagine a classroom of students singing these odes, perhaps before or after thoroughly studying the meaning of each poem in turn. Thus, the accurate depiction of classical metre came at the expense of polyphony or counterpoint.

Celtis' movement gripped Germany. In 1518 Martin Luther met the composer Ludwig Senfl in Augsburg. They met again in 1521 at the Diet of Worms, where Luther recanted his beliefs.¹⁵³ On both occasions Luther heard Senfl's music.¹⁵⁴ Luther believed in the potential of music as a moral and educative force,¹⁵⁵ and it is likely that Luther asked Senfl for an arrangement of Horace Ode-compositions after learning of the usefulness of Tritonius' adaptations.¹⁵⁶ At around the same time, Hofhaimer wrote his own musical adaptations of Horace's odes. The ode-settings of Senfl, Hofhaimer, and Tritonius are similar to each other in that they follow the metre strictly; but they differ slightly in harmonisation and choir arrangement.¹⁵⁷ Lutheran music was afterwards characterised by homophony in conjunction with Latin verse, and one might speculate that Luther's interest in metre was responsible for this development. One can even see the influence of Tritonius' music in Schubert's *Deutsche Messe* (D. 872), which, performed by boys in homophony with simple instrumentation, reveals the gentle beauty of this music.

151 Like Lasso's *Tityre, tu patulae*.

152 Hor. *Od.* 4.7.

153 Oettinger 2001, 213.

154 Oettinger 2001, 213.

155 See Anttila 2013 and Loewe 2014 for a discussion of Luther's attitude to music.

156 Haile 2014, 53.

157 Liliencron 1887, 2-27.

The Muses in France

In 1571 the *Académie de Musique et de Poésie* was founded under royal patronage by the poet Antoine de Baïf and the musician Thibault de Courville. It was established for the purpose of uniting poetry and music; in particular, there was an ambition to invent ballet in which dance rhythms were based upon ancient Greek metres. There was also a desire to recreate drama composed in classical quantitative verse.¹⁵⁸ Like their German and Italian contemporaries, French scholars and composers desired to put ancient knowledge to the service of contemporary culture; music had moralising effects according to Baïf,¹⁵⁹ and so to renew ancient music might also mean to renew classical virtue and wisdom. The ambitions of the *Académie* were largely unfulfilled, having been interrupted by the Wars of Religion.

Despite the Wars intervening, a small amount of metrical music was composed. For the most part, these works were comprised of French lyrics composed according to classical quantitative metres; so unlike the German and Italian composers, the ambition was not to reintroduce the classical language into contemporary popular music, but to make French verse follow classical quantitative metre. This metrical arrangement meant that “every syllable of the [French] text is always sung simultaneously by all parts, though any amount of independent figuration is allowed from the beginning of one syllable to the beginning of the next”;¹⁶⁰ moreover the metrical scheme is set so that “a long is always worth exactly two shorts, however irregular the resultant rhythm may be”.¹⁶¹ In short, then, the principle metrical rule is that a note representing a long syllables must always be longer than a note representing a short syllables.

Two collections of music arranged according to classical metre have special significance. The first is Jacques Mauduit’s *Chansonnettes mesurées d’Antoine de Baïf* (1586). In this collection, the poems of Baïf were set to Mauduit’s music; the songs were carefully arranged with metre in mind, since the metrical scheme of each lyric is provided before each song. The performer or student is therefore to be acquainted with the metrical structure prior to singing. The second is Claude le Jeune’s *Le Printemps* (1603). This too was a setting to music of the poems of Baïf. It contains a brief preface *sur la musique mesurée*, in which le Jeune and Baïf expound upon ancient theories of music. They

158 Welsford 1927, 105.

159 Jacquemier 2006, 233.

160 Walker 1950, 163.

161 Walker 1950, 164.

argue that the ancients divided music into two distinct parts, harmony and rhythm, in which the one consists in the proportioned assembly of brief and short *sounds*, and the other in the arrangement of short and long *times*.¹⁶² The distinction between sounds and times suggests that Baif was fascinated by the ways in which rhythms and metres could overlap or juxtapose to create different effects. This no doubt explains why he began to experiment with Tritonius' homophonic models by incorporating counterpoint into the vocal parts where possible.

Conclusions

Renaissance composers and musical theoreticians' debts to ancient metrical and musical theory go far beyond what could be called a casual interest in ancient music. Metre, of any sort, never disappeared from popular poetry or song after antiquity; but classical poetic metres were only revived in popular vernacular music when scholars regained knowledge of ancient musical theory, and discovered the connections between metre and musical performance. Poetry and song began to be spoken of in classical terms, meaning that poetry and music were once again synonymous. Metre thus played a significant part in the reunification of poetry and music.

Two important conclusions have emerged from this study. The first is that classical poetic metre's role in music became most prominent after knowledge of Greek ancient musical and metrical theories was transmitted directly from Byzantine scholars to Italian humanists as early as the thirteenth-century. This breaks down the influential but long-unchallenged suggestion posed by Lowinsky that Renaissance attempts to reconstruct ancient metre and music were made "in the absence of Greek models" until the 1550s onward,¹⁶³ and Guentner's argument (which largely follows Lowinsky) that "the men who established the musical style of this age of humanism were not Italians but men of the North, most of whom were born in the area now occupied by Belgium and northern France".¹⁶⁴ It also casts aside Strunk's old comment that Italian and Flemish composers were "oblivious to learned speculation concerning the antique metres", unlike the Germans.¹⁶⁵ The second important conclusion is that classical poetic metre had an immense role in the rationalis-

162 See their preface in Expert's (1900) edition of le Jeune's *Le Printemps*.

163 Lowinsky 1954, 549-550.

164 Guentner 1972, 63.

165 Strunk 1930, 488.

ing aesthetic of the Renaissance; metre became the rational structure behind the musical and poetic universe, the main intellectual framework with which Renaissance scholars felt they could unite the disciplines of music and poetry in a fruitful way.

Notwithstanding metre's immense importance in humanist notions of music, composers on the whole were required to make unnatural compositional choices to express classical quantitative metre in music; polyphony for the most part had to be sacrificed for homophony in order to depict the classical metres authentically. The influence of ancient metrical theory on music did not last long; as we have seen, it held the most interest among poets, theoreticians, and composers from the fourteenth- to the sixteenth-century, and thereafter abated, only to regain some renewed importance among certain twentieth-century composers. Today, songs based on classical metre are almost non-existent; they are now performed only in some Lutheran hymns.¹⁶⁶

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166 Cf. Grudulis 1998, 129.

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Book Reviews



Peponi, A.-E.

Performance and Culture in Plato's Laws, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013. 468 pp. Pr. \$ 99.00, EUR 76.00. ISBN 9781107016873.

In the last few years Plato's long neglected dialogue the *Laws* has finally been given the scholarly attention it deserves. This book, born of a conference held at Stanford University in 2007, explores the rich discussion about cultural matters which makes this dialogue so unique within Platonic works. As Anastasia-Erasmia Peponi points out in her effective and engaging introduction (ch. 1, 4), "beyond abounding in often unique and valuable references to dance and music, customs and norms, the *Laws* seems to suggest a comprehensive model of culture for the entire polis—something unparalleled in Plato".

The route outlined by the editor of the volume divides the inquiry into four main pathways which circumscribe very clearly what the book is going to deal with: an investigation into the contribution of local traditions to Platonic remarks on the best cultural qualities of the proposed colony of Magnesia (*Part one: Geopolitics of Performance*); a thorough investigation of the most valuable conceptualizations of chorality embodied in the dialogue (*Part two: Conceptualizing Chorality*); a detailed scrutiny of Plato's approach to the most important literary genres of the period (*Part three: Redefining Genre*); and the influence of this work on both poetic and musical theorizations in later times (*Part four: Poetry and Music in the Afterlife of the Laws*).

These four tracks are successfully explored in fourteen essays which enrich the excellent layout of the volume with the manifold approaches of their respective authors. In ch. 2 Mark Griffith problematizes the approach to music and dance as common foundational markers of Hellenic cultural identity, emphasizing the need to go beyond the ideological claims of a chimerical paradigm of unchanging models in Magnesians music in order to seek influences and hybridizations within Platonic cultural models. In ch. 3 Ian Rutherford further explores this idea focusing on Plato's idealization of Egyptian music and

dance postures, represented as an archetypal model for the conservative (but highly fictional) image of Spartan and Cretan music.

With ch. 4 Claude Calame opens that part of the volume most specifically devoted to *choreia*, so essential to Plato's cultural model of civic participation in the polis. The *paideia* based on choral groups, conventionally understood as a nostalgic view of archaic models, is here reinterpreted as a new educational paradigm combining the traditional initiatory role of the Spartan poetic tradition with the Athenian ritual framework of religious feasts. In ch. 5 Oswyn Murray places the sympotic and choral activities of the elders (one of the three chorus of Magnesia) within a well-identified historical context, recalling how alcohol, dance and poetry were the main values of ancient society. In ch. 6 Leslie Kurke explores the wondrous effects of ancient *choreia* connecting the enigmatic image of human beings as 'divine puppets' (which appears in Books 1 and 7) with the traditional assimilation of the performing chorus to 'dancing puppets', harmoniously merged together as a single organism which stands for the perfectly ordered machine of the cosmos. Starting from Plato's innovative definition of rhythm, in ch. 7 Barbara Kowalzig points out the social importance of the Platonic attempt to regulate the asymmetry of different *rhythmoi* of individual human beings through civic *choreia*. Finally, ch. 8 concludes this important section of the volume with the interesting remarks by Anastasia Peponi who notes how, while in the *Laws* all the other genres are treated as 'object' of the audience's pleasure, *choreia* is described and evaluated for the pleasure experienced by its performers, that is, by the citizens who actively participated in it, rendering it 'de-aestheticised'.

Beyond the centrality of *choreia*, however, the *Laws* is also a text of pivotal importance for literary criticism more generally, containing the first classification of performance-based 'types and forms' (*eidē kai schēmata*) of Greek musical literature. Chapters 9 to 13 are devoted to an exploration of the Platonic approach to genres other than the choral. Andrea Nightingale (ch. 9) identifies the subgenre of the written law code, which plays a central role in the dialogue, as a kind of *pharmakon* "that makes the citizen forget falsity" (260), while in ch. 10 Kathryn A. Morgan interprets the presence in Magnesia of the structures of praise and blame, typical of ancient poetry, as the institutionalisation of a (quintessentially Greek) agonistic cultural pattern, thanks to which virtuous citizens receive prizes by the lawgiver. In ch. 11 Penelope Murray discusses tragedy (mainly from the perspective of its spectators rather than performers) as the genre towards which Plato remains most hostile in this last dialogue, while in ch. 12 Richard Martin highlights the distinction drawn by Plato between the participatory and educational features of *choreia* and the problematic nature of *rhapsōidia*—the recitation of unaccompanied

verses, whether epic or iambic—whose modality of performance were dangerously beyond the control of the state. This section of the book is concluded by Marcus Folch (ch. 13), who interprets the presence in Magnesia of comic and threnodic genres (attended, but never performed by members of the polis) as an institutionalised observation of social otherness.

The last two essays discuss the influence of this Platonic dialogue on late Classical and Hellenistic thought. In ch. 14 Susan Stephens interprets Callimachus' poetics, which originated in a non-Greek world where the contamination of genres had become a kind of statement of Greek cultural identity, as a clear allusion to Plato's taxonomy, while in ch. 15 Andrew Barker connects the aesthetic thought on *mousikē* elaborated by Aristoxenus, the most famous musical theorist of Greek antiquity, to Plato's intriguing discussion on the criteria of musical judgment, showing the numerous connections (but also the differences) between them.

This brief summary does not do justice to the richness of the content nor to the novelty of the approaches that characterise this pleasant and very informative book, which is strongly recommended to any student or scholar with an interest in ancient aesthetics, literary criticism or, more generally, in classical antiquity.

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Castaldo, Daniela

Musiche dell'Italia antica. Introduzione all'archeologia musicale, Bologna, Antequem 2012, 144 pp. Pr. 14.00 euros (pb). ISBN 9788878490741.

The best way to enjoy Daniela Castaldo's book and to make the most of it is to appreciate its interdisciplinary approach. The book arises from a balanced integration of different disciplines that shed light on one another. The author is Associate Professor in the Department of Cultural Heritage at the University of Salento, where she also teaches musical iconography. A musicologist with a deep knowledge in archaeology, Castaldo manages to combine the tools of the two disciplines throughout the book. The volume therefore provides a handy tool for both musicologists and archaeologists and addresses students as well as scholars.

The Introduction illustrates the subject, methodology and aims of musical archaeology, as well as its potential future developments, which are particularly promising since the discipline is quite young. It also provides an outline of the history of these studies and the steps that led to their present form—the first sparks of interest in the Quattrocento, the pioneering activity of François-Auguste Gevaert, the first Round Table on Music & Archaeology at the 12th Congress of the IMS (Berkeley, 1977), which marked the birth of modern archaeomusicology. This long and detailed journey shows the crucial importance of an interdisciplinary approach to this kind of research.

The most substantial part of the book is organised as a chronological and geographical analysis of some broad areas of the Italian Peninsula and its inhabitants. The material covers a remarkable span of time: it begins in the 7th c. BC, when there were strong and well documented links between Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean, which formed a great *koiné* enriching the Peninsula—at first just the coasts, and then the whole inland—with a wide cultural and artistic influx from Greece and Eastern world. This connection is attested by the vast number of artefacts—either imported from the East or influenced by Eastern fashion—held by several Italian museums. Such objects contribute to defining the so-called 'Orientalizing phase', a florid age of societal change and reorganisation, when the Eastern world provided the aristocratic elites of Italy with a set of cultural, social and artistic models.

The author provides a meticulous catalogue of published artefacts, whose musicological relevance has not always been pointed out so far, especially with regard to Sicily and Southern Italy, a catalogue whose ongoing growth is

* I'm grateful to the Editor for the revision of my English text.

certainly to be encouraged, following new discoveries. Castaldo's study reaches the 3rd c. AD, dealing with the second great koiné, the Roman one, which reached its zenith in the 1st-2nd c. AD.

From a geographical perspective, the volume focuses on the most important cultural and territorial areas of ancient Italy: Etruria; Veneto and the Po River valley, including a remarkable discussion of the world of the Celts; Magna Graecia, a very complex and composite reality where Greek presence and influence interacted with the indigenous substrate; and finally, the Roman world. In this last section, although dealing with a subject extremely vast in time and space, Castaldo successfully avoids the risk of treating 'Roman music' as a whole; instead, she discusses "music in the Roman period", thus managing to single out different archaeological contexts and scenarios with great accuracy.

The greatest strength of this book is that its topographical and chronological structure pivots on archeological data and applies an archaeological method to musicological research. This is indeed the *modus operandi* of the musical archaeologist—a scholar on a border between disciplines, as the volume clearly shows. The analysis takes as its starting point an artefact or piece of evidence—a musical instrument, a mosaic, a coin, a painting, a piece of information found in a literary source—then discusses it in the world where it belongs; the importance of the broader context to a specific find is thus strongly underlined. Castaldo herself rightly describes her methodology as "holistic". An important example of this is provided by the tortoise shells used as lyrai soundboxes in Southern Italy, particularly those found in Roca, in Messapic Puglia. The accurate study of the Roca shells—one of them surely found in a tomb—stresses the importance of musical instruments within funeral rituals, and suggests that in a burial context instruments were sometimes deliberately placed incomplete, to obtain a defunctionalization of the object.

Another interesting aspect of the book is the keen attention paid not only to 'music' but also to sounds as such and the context of their usage, beyond the boundaries within which ancient music is usually placed. This is the case, for instance, with military music, where the sound of wind instruments is no embellishment; rather it constitutes an accurate set of signals used to convey orders, in the Greek as well as the Etruscan and Roman worlds. It is no coincidence that *aeneatores*, i.e. the brass-players in the Roman legion, were regarded as members of the army.

When possible, greater chronological proximity would have been desirable in the comparisons between finds, which, at least from an archaeological stand-point, are sometimes a little too distant. The bibliography is rich and

detailed and also includes websites. This volume is to be gladly received as a starting point rather than a final achievement, as it paves the way to an understanding of the past that is neither scattered nor pigeonholed into different branches of knowledge.

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